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BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO

SPECIAL SELECT COMMITTEE ON VOTER PRAUD

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SUBJECT: Hearing inquiring into irregularities and malconduct in recent municipal elections for the purpose of purifying the election process in the City and County.

File No. 370-76

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APPEARANCES: 15

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Reported by:

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DAVID WORTS

REPORTER'S TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS Hearing of: Friday, July 9, 1976

9:30 o'clock A.M. Room 228

City Hall, San Francisco, California

Members of the Select Committee:

JOHN J. BARBAGELATA, Chairman

TERRY A. FRANCOIS ALFRED J. NELDER

Clerk. Florence White

Pacific Legal Foundation:

RAYMOND M. MOMBOISSE, Esq., Director

DAVID E. TODD



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CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: The Committee on Voter Fraud is now in session.

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Supervisor Francois on my left; to my right is Counsel for the Committee, Mr. Raymond Momboisse, and we also have the Investigator, Mr. David Todd.

We had scheduled today for hearings here, statements.

Mr. John Crowley, Secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council.

(Addressing Clerk:) Would you report chronologically what has happened in attempting to ask Mr. Crowley to . . .

THE CLERK: Yes. Mr. Crowley has been written to two times, and I think has been called three or four times, requesting his presence, not only at this meeting, but at preceding meetings; and he has said that he was unable to come.

He called me yesterday morning and said that he didn't know whether he could come or not, and I told him that, if he did not appear, he would be Subpoenaed. And that was the end of the conversation. And I have heard nothing further from Mr. Crowley.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Did he say that he wanted to be Subpoenaed?

THE CLERK: Yes, he did.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Then -- Supervisor?

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Mr. Chairman, I think the whole integrity of the process is at stake. I would move that a Subpoena be issued.

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CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Well, Supervisor, a Subpoena has been issued. We were authorized last week, at the last Committee meeting, Mr. Brown was invited to attend, and on a number of occasions, also, he was Subpoenaed, and did arrive today. And the Counsel will explain.

MR. MOMBOISSE: I can bring you up to date on Mr. Brown. He said that he would prefer to have Counsel with him. and Counsel was unavailable today, and I certainly respect that wish.

He will return at the next hearing on the 20th.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Okav. And -- off the record for the moment.

(Discussion off the record.)

(REPORTER'S NOTE: At the request of the Chairman, the off-the-record discussion was transcribed from my tape recording of the proceeding, and appears at the end of this transcript.)

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: We're back on the record.

Are there any other comments?

MR. MOMBOISSE: Is Mr. Ben Thomas here?

THE CLERK: Bill Thomas.

MR. THOMAS: Sir, my name is William G. Thomas.

MR. MOMBOISSE: How do you do. I think it has been quite a few years since I have seen you.

MR. THOMAS: Our office received a request in the name of Ben Thomas, and apparently, you wanted to talk to me. So, I



am here.

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MR. MOMBOISSE: All right, fine. Then we may just as well ask you a few questions, now.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Mr. Momboisse, Mr. Mason asked if he could be heard first. May we go to him, please, is that all right with you?

MR. MOMBOISSE: (Addressing Mr. Thomas:) Would that be okay with you?

MR. THOMAS: Sir, I would beg to be heard now. I gather you have very little to ask me.

MR. MASON (From the floor): Okay.

MR. MOMBOISSE: I think it would be very short with Mr. Thomas. Then, also, we have one additional witness. I think Mrs. Alexander from the League . . .

(Mrs. Thomas raises her hand.)

MR. MOMBOISSE: Thank you. That should be it, then.
Could we swear the witness in, then, please?
THE CLERK: All right.

WILLIAM G. THOMAS,

appearing as a witness before Board of Supervisors Special Select
Committee on Voter Fraud, who, being first duly sworn by the
Clerk, testified as follows:

EXAMINATION BY MR. MOMBOISSE

BY MR. MOMBOISSE:

Q Now, for the record, may we have your name?



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- A. My name is William G. Thomas, and I am Assistant to Congressman Philip Burton.
- Q There has been certain testimony with regard to a meeting which was held in Mr. Mellon's office with regard to the voter registration drive in 1975. There was an indication that you were present at that meeting.
 - A. I was present at the meeting.
 - Q Fine. Do you know how the meeting was called, by whom?
- A. I think Mike asked me to come. I am not quite sure. You know, it's two years ago.
 - Q Do you have any idea of the date of that meeting?
- A No. I probably could go back through the calendar, and it might be written down.
 - Q If you could find something, I would appreciate it.
 - A I would be happy to.
- Q And if you could direct, just a letter to me would be fine, then.

(Mr. Momboisse hands card to the witness.)

THE WITNESS: Certainly.

- Q And also, if -- you said that Mr. Mason called the meeting?
- A. I am not sure who called the meeting. I am not sure who notified me, but I was asked to represent the Congressman at that meeting in Mr. Mellon's office, in hopes of getting a



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registration drive conducted by the Registrar of Voters.

- Q. Now, were you notified of the meeting the day prior to the meeting?
 - A. I can't remember.

(Mr. Momboisse hands document to witness.)

MR. MOMBOISSE: I'll show you an exhibit which was prepared by Mr. Mellon, and indicated his recollection of who was at the meeting -- this is No. 17 -- and ask you if you will look it over, please.

(Pause while witness examines document.)

THE WITNESS: It was not Ben Thomas; it was Bill Thomas. Maria Alcalde Thomas wasn't married to Bill Thomas at that time.

I can't remember whether Mrs. Kennedy was there, but I would be happy to ask her and let you know.

I think everybody else was there, yes.

- Q. Now, was there anyone else there besides the names appearing on there?
 - A. Not that I can remember. '
 - Q I think Mr. Mellon's name is not on there, is it?
- A. Mr. Mellon was there, but I don't see Mr. Mellon's name on the list.
- Q. Fine. Now, would you just tell us what occurred at the meeting?



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24 25 A. Again, qualifying that this is two years ago now, ost. We stated that the registration had declined.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Excuse me, I think you mean a year ago, since last year.

THE WITNESS: I think this was before the election for Mayor.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: That was last year.

THE WITNESS: That was last year, but it was before the primary. I can't remember the date, offhand.

- Q There has been an indication that it occurred towards the middle of 1975. That's why we would appreciate a firm date from you, if we could obtain it.
- A. If it's on my calendar for the last year, I will be happy to give it to you.
- Q. Now, this meeting was to convene in Mr. Mellon's office?
- A. I was told that there was to be a meeting in Mr.

 Mellon's office, and would I represent the Congressman, to

 express his concern that registration was declining.
 - Q About how long did the meeting last?
 - A. Oh, I would say about an hour.
- Q. Fine. Was there a discussion of obtaining an appropriation from the City and County to pay for the voter registration drive?



A.	It was requested, I think it was 25,000 be appropriated,				
and I believe Mr. Jaicks suggested that it would be sort of an					
Outreach Program, so that people wouldn't have to come down to					
City Hall to register.					
Q	Was there any discussion of training volunteer				
registrars?					
A.	I think that was part of the use of the \$25,000.				
Q	Who was to do the training?				
A	As I understood, the Registrar was.				
Q	The Registrar's Office?				
A	Yes.				
Q	Was there any discussion of training teachers for				
Deputy Registrars?					
A	If there was, I don't recall.				
Q	Was there any discussion of the supervision of the				
Deputy Registrars that were training and sworn?					
A.	I would say that that was implied in the If the				
City was going to do it, that they would do it competently,					
and that Supervisors would be part of it.					
Q	Was there any discussion as to who would be responsible				
for this selection and organization, training of these people?					
A.	To the best of my recollection, the Registrar was				
to					

Q.

A.

What agreement was finally reached at the meeting?

Mr. Mellon, after discussion with -- As I recall,



the Registrar was not there at that time, and neither was Mr.
Quinn, and Mr. Mellon summoned them up from their office, and
it was agreed that he would ask the Mayor for 25,000. And, as
I recall, the Mayor was out of town, and whoever was the Acting
Mayor then transmitted the request to the Board of Supervisors.
The Board of Supervisors approved it, and then the Mayor vetoed
it.

- Q. Was there any agreement on the aspect of the training a large number of Deputy Registrars?
- A I think there was agreement that it was necessary to register voters.
- Q. Well, was there any agreement at the meeting, is what I am trying to find out.
 - A There was an agreement that there was a need for it.
- Q. There was a need for it. And any instructions by Mr.

 Mellon to the Registrar with regard to such a program of
 training, were there any given?
 - A Not to my memory.
- ${\bf Q}$ Okay. Was there anything else that developed at the meeting that you can recall?
- A I think the only other thing I said was that we had had a series of Registrars, year-in and year-out, and there had been no continuity in the office except that provided by Frank Quinn; and I thought it was bad.
 - Q Um-hum.

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3	A.	I can't think of anything else that happened.	
4	Q	Did you take any active part in the voter registration	
5	drive tha	t subsequently developed?	
6	A.	None, whatsoever, except inquiring from time to time	
7	how it was going.		
8		MR. MOMBOISSE: I have no further questions.	
9		CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Okay. I don't have any	
0	questions		
1		(Addressing Supervisor Francois:) Do you have any	
2	questions?		
3		SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: No.	
4		CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Okay.	
5		Thank you very much. I appreciate your coming.	
6		THE WITNESS: Thank you, sir.	
7		CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Now, Mr. Mason.	
8		MICHAEL G. MASON,	
9	appearing	as a witness before Board of Supervisors Special Selec	
0	Committee	on Voter Fraud, who, being first duly sworn by the	
1	Clerk, te	stified as follows:	
2		$MR.\ MOMBOISSE:\ May\ we have your name for the record?$	
3		THE WITNESS: Michael G. Mason.	
4		MR. MOMBOISSE: All right. Mr. Mason has previously	
5	submitted	to me a proposed statement, and we have supplied each $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) \left(1\right)$	

And it affected the operations of the office.

Fine. Anything else?



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member of the Special Committee with it. I would like to mark it as 20 and make it part of the record.

THE WITNESS: May I read it?

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Mr. Mason, we are, we have tons of things that we have for the record.

THE WITNESS: I realize that, but I would very much like to read this thing for the record.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: We have not allowed anybody to read any statements. We have a 40-page document on malconduct in the Registrar's Office. If we started to read those things out here, we would be here for months. That will be part of the record. You can file it as Document No. -- what is that . . .

THE CLERK: 20.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: May I add my objection to this speech being read into the record. That will be a useless cost, and there is just no basis or no logic in it. No court would allow it. It can be filed with the Reporter, but it would be a useless duplication to have the statement read into the record and have the statement filed. It would just result in having a more expensive transcript. And unless Mr. Mason is willing to pay for it right now, for the cost of this much transcript, and the reporting, I think it would be an imposition on the taxpayers to allow him to read this entire statement into the record. He can file it. It becomes a part of the record. He can distribute as many copies as he desires; he can give copies to the press,



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and the rest of the media. But I think it's a --

THE WITNESS: Be reassured that I will do so.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Mr. Mason, let me explain something to you. You have been to most of these meetings, and we are just gathering information and documenting everything for the record, basically for the, eventually for the use of the Registrar's Office. Eventually we will have a meeting that, if the public wants to come in and talk as long as they want to, you can come in and do that. But at the present time, we have Counsels' time, we have Court Reporter's time, and we are just asking questions, gathering information; and then we will have additional public hearings to hear the whole thing.

THE WITNESS: Well, I do protest; but obviously, it is your hearing, so proceed.

MR. MOMBOISSE: I think, Mr. Mason, you will find that I will cover most of the material in my questions. May I proceed?

THE WITNESS: Yes, indeed.

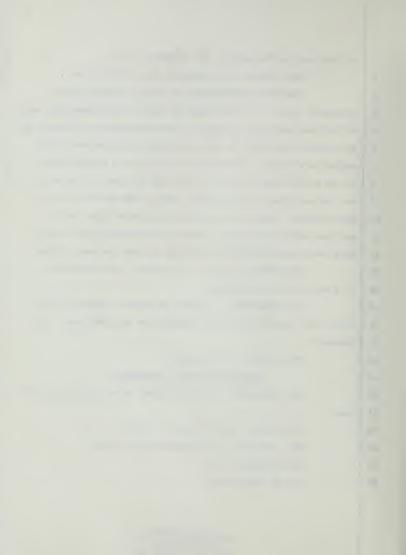
EXAMINATION BY MR. MOMBOISSE

MR. MOMBOISSE: For the record, do we have your name,

THE CLERK: Yes, Michael G. Mason.

MR. MOMBOISSE: And have you been sworn?

THE WITNESS: Yes.



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Q Would you give us some background of your previous experience in voter registration drives?

A I assisted on a voter registration drive in San Francisco in 1968. I worked on a voter registration drive in San Francisco in 1971, in the Summer of 1971. I ran the San Francisco Voter Registration Drive in the Spring of 1972 and the Summer of 1972. A total of 96,000 people were registered through the Drive that I ran at that time.

I was the Northern California Coordinator of the United Democratic Campaign Committee, which did voter registration statewide, and obviously, I was in charge of Northern California in 1974.

I ran a voter registration drive in the Fifteenth Assembly District in Alameda County, which covered Hayward, Livermore and Pleasanton, et cetera, in the early months of 1975. And I was the Coordinator of the Coalition to Register 100,000 Voters in the Summer of 1975.

Q All right. Now, could you tell us about the Coalition to Register 100,000 Voters?

A Well, I was the staff of the Coalition. The Coalition came together, was formed in the early part of 1975 by a broad range of interested and concerned groups, neighborhood groups, community groups, that ranged throughout San Francisco. I am a member of one of those groups, which was one of the initiators of the Coalition, which was Citizens for Representative



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All right. Now, could you tell us about the Coalition to Register 100,000 Voters?

Well, I was the staff of the Coalition. The Coalition came together, was formed in the early part of 1975 by a broad range of interested and concerned groups, neighborhood groups, community groups, that ranged throughout San Francisco. I am a member of one of those groups, which was one of the initiators of the Coalition, which was Citizens for Representative



Government -- which have been concerned about voter registration, is always concerned about voter registration, is certainly concerned now about voter registration -- and was the initiator of the -- which the plan that became the Coalition's plan, which was to the twenty-five thousand-dollar appropriation, the attempt to get publicly-funded voter registration.

Q Now, I think you heard Mr. Thomas' remarks earlier, that you called him with regard to --

A Yes. That is totally untrue. I did not know of that meeting. I was not informed of that meeting. If you will look at the record there, there is nobody from the Coalition. There will be a record submitted to you of who was in the Coalition. There were no community, neighborhood people at that meeting, whatsoever.

- Q Was the Coalition in existence at that time?
- A Yes, it was.

A

Q Had it started any of its voter registration work by that time?

A. The work that the Coalition was involved in, until approximately the end of May, was around trying to get the appropriation, the second one. The first one was passed in March, which was when it was Community Development Funds. Obviously, that was turned down in Washington. We were still involved in an effort to try and get that money. We did actually not start any registration activities until approximately the



latter part of May.

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The first training we did, it was as far as the trainers -- so maybe, this may help you date that meeting -- was in June, beginning of June, 7th and 8th, at the San Francisco Community Congress. So, I would assume that the meetings that you were talking about occurred either in late April or May.

- Q Do you have a list of various organizations that belong to the Coalition?
- A. Yes. You should have, each, a copy of the documents that Calvin Welch has given, prepared, to you, and on one of the last sheets of the document, which are final press releases, is a list of the organizations. There was a time, earlier, when I was questioned by Supervisor Barbagelata's, but not his Counsel so much, but the Committee's Counsel, when I was able to reel them all off, but that was a considerable time ago, and I can't remember all of them rote by rote. But there is a document that you have that will give you that information.
- Q. Now, as I understand it, the Coalition was composed of a number of separate groups --
 - A. Yes, it was.
 - Q -- as contrasted with individuals.
 - A. Yes.
- Q What about the management of the Coalition? What was your executive structure?



A The executive structure, again, is explained in the document. I was the staff. However, we had a Steering Committee. The Steering Committee consisted of one representative from each of the member groups. There were several levels of participation in the Coalition. The level of running the Coalition fell to those groups that were, those that pledged or gave \$100, either the money or in work, vis-a-vis registrations. 300 registrations constituted a hundred dollars worth of money. Each one of those organizations — and I believe there is a list of those, also, in that document — had one person representing them on the Steering Committee. Their policy was — they were the actual signers of the lease on the building we had, et cetera, and it was the actual — that is where I took my direction from.

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Q Now, what position did you hold with the Coalition?

A This is, I was the staff person, the Coordinator of the Coalition. This was an agreement that was reached after — I was not paid by the Coalition, I was paid by the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee, but this was an agreement reached between the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee and myself and the Coalition, that I would be paid by the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee; but in actuality, I would work for the Coalition. This was insisted upon by both myself and the Coalition, because I did not want to take direction from the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee.



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- ·O Fine. I assume this was approved by the Steering Committee of the Coalition?
 - Yes, it was. A.
 - Were there any other paid employees of the Coalition?
- There was one occasionally part-time paid person, A. and that was it. Everybody else was volunteers.
- Now, you spoke of this money that was contributed by all the members of the Coalition. Was that money used to pay Deputy Registrars for obtaining the affidavits of voters?
- There was, at the very end of the drive, when we were enormously concerned with certain areas which had extremely low registration, we did add a nickel for registrations in certain areas. This mainly fell in obviously, third-world communities, where there was low registration. The money actually went for rent for some mailings that we did; to keep the office supplied with the various types of paperwork that was needed to keep the records, et cetera; to buy the various pay sheets, to buy the card files, et cetera; and that was -and also, to do the precincting of the registrations that we did.
- Q. Now, the special Deputy Registrars that were working Were they compensated? for you:
- They were compensated through the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee, which we, again, had worked out an agreement that they would pay thirty-five cents for all



registrations directly to the Deputies, not to organizations, but to the Deputies, themselves, individually for each registration accrued.

- Q Now, in the past, you have indicated you have worked in a number of voter registration drives --
 - A Yes, I have.

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- Q -- in San Francisco. Could you tell me whether or not it was the practice in those drives to compensate the Deputy Registrars on the basis of each registration.
 - A. Yes, it was. This is standard practice.
- Q Could you give me more detail on that: The groups that did it, the amount that they were paid?

A In 1968, COPE paid fifteen cents per registration.

In 1971, the paying groups were the San Francisco Voter
Registration Committee, which paid twenty cents citywide. And
COPE paid another twenty cents in the Fifth Congressional
District in 1972. The money was mainly accrued by the
San Francisco Voter Registration Committee, again, although
there was a COPE effort, and also a group whose name I always
have a hard time remembering — it was a youth-orientated
based — a non-partisan youth group based out of Washington,
D.C. And as you remember, that was the first year that eighteen
year olds could vote, and there was a maximum effort, at least
on this group's part, to register eighteen year olds, and they
did contribute some money to the voter registration drive at



1 that time. To go back to 1971, the payment on that was twenty 2 cents and forty cents. In 1972, it ranged from thirty to normal. 3 which was forty cents a signature. 4 I assume you are mainly interested in San Francisco. 5 I can give you details on the Alameda Drive, if you would like. 6 Yes. San Francisco. 7 And obviously, this Drive, I understand, in 1974 --8 although I did not run the San Francisco Drive -- they were 9 paying either thirty or forty cents, and again, that was the 10 San Francisco Voter Registration Drive. 11 Now, are you, yourself, a Deputy Registrar? a 12 A. Yes, I am. 13 When did you become one? 14 Most recently? I became one two weeks ago. You A. 15 must be retrained every year. 16 a You just went through a new training program? 17 Yes, I did. A. 18 And that was conducted by the Registrar's Office? a 19 Indeed, it was. It was a most interesting class. A. 20 α Let's go back in time. When were you trained 21 before? 22 Well, obviously, the first time I was trained in 1968, 23 and I have been retrained each time I have done voter registra-24 tion. a And you have filled out an oath?



A. Yes, I have.

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- Q That is on file, as far as you know?
- A. As far as I know.
 - Q Did you have one in '75, do you recall?
- 5 A. Yes, I did.
 - Now, there has been some reference to a training class
 for teachers, for Deputy Registrars. You are familiar with that
 class?
 - A Yes. I attended that class, and that is where -- if I signed the oath in 1975, I would have signed it, because, obviously, that is when I took the class.
 - Q By whom was the class conducted?
 - A I'm not absolutely sure. It was either Jay Patterson or Bud Renstrom, or it could have been Hugh McGuire. I attended at the beginning. We had not one training class for trainers, but a number of training classes. As a matter of fact, I think there were, at least, three or four, and as the Coordinator, I attended each one. Each one of those people trained a training class, if I remember correctly, but which one I was actually trained at, to become a, quote, "trainer," I do not remember.
 - Q Do you remember approximately when the class was held that you attended?
 - A As I said, the first one that I attended was held in late May or at the very latest, in early June, before the 7th and 8th, because we were authorized at the 7th and 8th at



Lone Mountain Community Congress to train Deputies, which we started to do at that time.

- Q When were the other classes held?
- A Subsequent to that, and mostly, I believe, in the month of June.
 - Q. You attended the first training class?
 - A. I attended all of them.

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- Q Now, how many of your Coalition people attended those training classes?
- A Again, to the best of my recollection, about 25 were trainers.
- Q Were you then authorized to select and train and administer the oath to other Deputy Registrars?
- A We were authorized to train other Deputy Registrars. I must admit I object to the word "select"; there was no selection about it. We were told that we should train anyone who was a registered voter in San Francisco, and qualified to be a Registrar by being a registered voter. There was no selection. We trained whoever came to us and wanted to be trained, and was also a registered voter in San Francisco.
- Q. Was there any screening of these applicants in regard to their ability to perform the job?
- A Yes. Obviously, we gave them the class, and the class, itself, which we gave, I must admit was possibly, in some cases, a little bit more thorough than the Registrar's



Office, because we had them tested, and checked out the registrations, and then, obviously, when a person got one book to start out with, we did not give more than one book to a person that had been recently trained, and that first book was checked over before. As a matter of fact, there were, in my memory of the six or seven hundred people that were trained, I can remember two that we had to say that they could not register people because their handwriting was of such a style it risked the registrations.

Q. How did you notify interested individuals that you were conducting such training classes?

A. This was part of the -- Obviously, the money that we raised was spent on mailings. Otherwise, we posted notices, we called various neighborhood groups, we spread as much word as we could. We had notices on file at various employment places, such as, you know, like places where people would go which would not have work, which would be interested in doing it. San Francisco State, City College. We made as wide an outreach effort as we possibly could.

Q I assume these notices indicated that you were going to conduct a training class at a given time and a given place?

A No, they did not. They said that we could train on demand. We would go outside the 12 Valencia Street, which was our office, whenever anybody could get five people together.

This was obviously aimed toward different neighborhood groups



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or community organizations. However, when anybody came in the door to 12 Valencia and wanted a class, it was given to them, whether it was one person or 15.

- Now, could you describe the training that you gave to these Deputy Registrars?
- A We would give them the forms and instructions, have them read over the instructions first, and look over the forms; and then, at that time, we would sit down with the person.

 There was, also -- Again, it was not always myself, although I must admit I probably trained -- the majority of the people I trained myself. We would then go over the form with them,

explaining the instructions, and how to fill out the form.

Also, I might point out here, obviously, all of us, the ones that were trainers were doing registration ourselves. And on occasion, those things that came up on the street, we made it a point to go to the Registrar's Office and ask all the questions that we were unclear of -- and there are some that the Registrar's Office is still unclear on -- and then we would have that person register, we would then register that person. Either if they needed to be registered, or if they did not need to be registered, we would go over the registration, and then we would have that person registered, ourselves, or, if we would have two people, they would register each other, and we would check their work.

After the training was over, you made a determination



as to whether they were qualified?

A Yes. Registration is a very easy thing, once properly explained, and almost anybody can actually do it. At that time, we would then have them fill out the required cards for the Registrar's Office, which was an application, a signature card, and obviously, the Oath of Office.

- Q And you would administer the Oath of Office to them?
- 8 A Yes.

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- Q Had you been given authority to administer that Oath?
- A. Yes, according to the person that we would have to go to, who was the Registrar.
 - Q Who gave you the authority to administer the Oath?
- A. We would be given that authority in those cases. We were told that we could now train people and given them the Oath.
 - Q Do you remember, specifically, who gave it to you?
- A I think all of them did. I talked to Mr. Leguennec, and Mr. McGuire, and I believe Mr. Quinn. I am not sure of the exact conversations. I was given a sheet of Oaths to administer.
 - Q All right.
 - A. And that's what we did.
 - Q Was there any written authorization given to you?
- A I was never given a written authorization; did not know I needed it.
 - Q Now, after the Deputy Registar was given the Oath,



how did he receive a book of affidavits?

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A Okay. Then the person received one of the registration books that we had taken out of the Registrar's Office. A card -- Obviously, we had their Oath, et cetera, and a copy was made of their signature card, so we had a card on file for each Registrar with their address and phone number, et cetera. A card was also made for each individual book, would list the book number, the person that had the book, the address of the person that had the book, the address of the person that had the book, the phone number, if that person were available; and then, there was a space on the bottom that said "date out" and "date in," that signified what date the book was taken out, and when the book came in. That would be listed, also; so, it was listed as complete or incomplete.

- Q Would you have one of those cards with you?
- A. No, I do not. I could make one up for you, if you could give me a three-by-five card.
- Q Would you do that for me -- or would you send one to me, please.
 - A. Okay. They were just three-by-five cards.
 - This is the way you kept records of the affidavits?
 - A Indeed. We were very poor in organization.
- Q Now, where did the Deputy Registrars operate? Did you assign areas?
- A There were assigned areas. They did operate throughout the City, obviously. We had, through experience in working in



San Francisco, we had knowledge of the most active places. Voter registration can be done in any kind of a volume. Obviously, it's like anything else that you want to do on the street that takes a lot of volume. A lot of volume of people going by, and you need a lot of volume, of people that come by and, preferably, San Franciscans. Rather than going down to the East Bay Terminal, for example, where you've got people from Alameda, it's better to go to a place like the Duboce and Market Safeway, up there on Church and Duboce, where there are a large volume of people, and there are a large volume of people that live in San Francisco. There are approximately 20 or 30 spots that are well-known as shopping centers. The shopping centers, the unemployment office; there are the various different churches on Sunday; supermarkets, events, et cetera, which we kept a calendar of, and also kept a schedule on.

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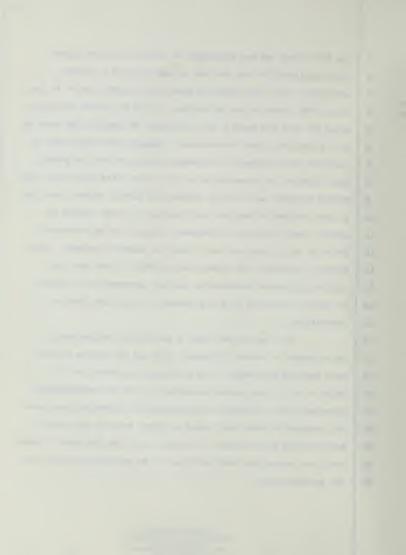
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If a person was from a particular neighborhood organization -- which obviously, most of the people that we were dealing with were -- we obviously put them also in touch -- or if they were not already, with the neighborhood organizations -- because the neighborhood organizations also had responsibilities and tried to cover some of the smaller supermarkets and corners, et cetera, and also did door-to-door work, and organized mobilizations to do door-to-door work in the neighborhood.



door?

Q.

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A. And also events through the Summer.

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Q Now, at that time did you know whether or not the Registrar's Office had any voter registration points established in the City?

So then, you used fixed positions, and also door-to-

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A As far as I know, they did not.

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A No, it was not. We had attended some early meetings, but it had withdrawn totally -- and especially, I might point out, around that meeting that you were talking about. After that, we never saw them again.

Now, was Frontlash associated with the Coalition?

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Q. What supervision did you have over the Deputy Registrars that worked for the Coalition?

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A We kept in contact with those that were active. We kept in contact with all of them, especially towards the end of the drive. The drive was actually -- although we were training Deputies, we did not get an office until, I believe, the beginning of July, maybe even the middle of July -- and we didn't really start our drive until the middle of July. And obviously, so we are talking about the last half of July,

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August and September.

We sent letters to them, telling them how they were

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doing. We kept in phone contact when a person would have a number of books and we had not seen that person to find out



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where his books were. At the end, we mailed two letters, telling them that the driving was coming to a close and that they should hand their books in; and then, the last letter, which was a few days before, about a week before the end of the drive, that they must hand in the books, that they were in violation of the law if they did not hand in the books, and that we would be open various different hours for them to do so.

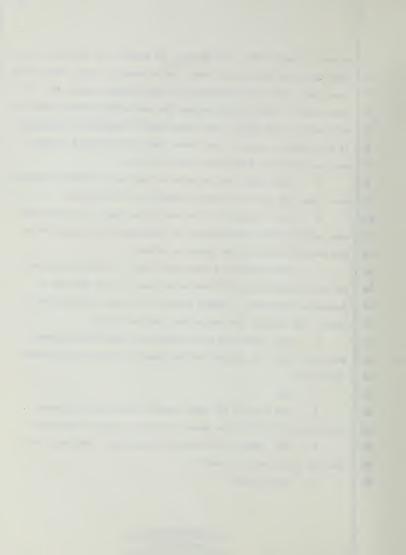
Q. What about the issuance of the books. Would you give more than one book to a Deputy Registrar at one time?

A. Yes, we would. This was in the cases of people that were active Deputy Registrars, or represented an organization, and was distributing the books to others.

For instance, a woman who does -- and hopefully will be doing registration at the Value Giant in the Mission --Ramoncita Hernandez, I would deliver the books, pick up her books, and replace the books that she was using.

- Q. Now, after you had trained and deputized a Deputy Registrar, did you authorize that Deputy Registrar to conduct training?
 - A. No.
- Q And did any of those Deputy Registrars, to your knowledge, ever train or deputize another Deputy Registrar?
- A No. Again, the control factor was, obviously, we had the forms and the books.
 - Q (Nods head.)

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A And a person could not come in off the street and get books unless they had been trained and had filled out the proper forms that we had. I made a copy -- the card, as I mentioned earlier -- of each one of the signature cards, so that I knew who our trainers were before I handed in the forms to the Registrar's Office.

Q In other words, before you would compensate any Deputy Registrar for obtaining affidavits, they had to check the book out through the Coalition?

A. Yeah.

Q. And this was your way of controlling who was the Deputy Registrar?

A. Yes. And obviously, who got books, also.

Q. Now, when the books were returned, would you please tell us what your process was in handling them?

A Okay. The books -- except, obviously, in cases of people that were regular Deputy Registrars -- and even a cursory glance was given at those, also -- each one, especially from the new people coming in, each book was checked, affidavits were checked, mistakes were pointed out, et cetera; books were given look-throughs on each one as possible. Obviously, the volume got very great at the end and we could not check each form that came in. We did over 40,000 registrations, and it's an enormous number. Also, when the books went in, City Hall obviously did their own checking, and I kept in contact with



Bud Renstrom and Hugh McGuire as to their reactions to the books.

And if a lot of the cases were times when somebody would forget to sign their name, or forget to fill out the birthday or the birthdate, and things like that, and then we would send people down there to complete the forms or contact people that had been registered.

Q. What action did you take to complete a form which you found incomplete?

A We would try and contact the person that was registered to get that information. Most of these, we tried to catch before they went into the Registrar's Office. This was one of the functions of the office, would be to attempt to locate the person. A lot of the cases, we had phone numbers, because that is one of the pieces of information that can be given on the form. If there were no phone number, we would attempt to find out if there were, by looking through the phone book, or by calling Information -- we could not afford a Reverse Directory. And in some cases, we could even send them a card. But in most cases, when we could not locate them -- because money was at a minimum in our drive, as far as the Coalition went -- we would sometimes give the book back to the Registrar, tell them that they must go and complete that form.

Q Then, you did find instances where the voter who had signed the affidavits could not be located with the address



given by him?

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A In the ones that we worked out, in the ones that we spotted before they went into the Registrar's Office. I cannot actually remember one where we were not able to complete the form before it went in.

- Q So then, you corrected them as much as you could --
- 7 A. Yes.
- - A. Yes. There was not a great deal of this. I do not want to give the impression that this was a lot of books. This was very few.
 - Q You have had a great deal of experience in registration drives, so I will ask you, based upon your experience: What about the rate of errors found in the '75 Drive with the Coalition Registrars as compared to the previous drives you have worked on?
 - A I felt it was very, you know, very similar, as in any type of mass voter registration drive. I have participated in three very, very large voter registration drives. I am not talking about a drive that does 5 or 10,000 people and has maybe 50 people involved, but, once you get over 500,600, a thousand people involved, obviously, as in anything, this starts to multiply the minor mistakes that are made: Where something is spelled wrong or somebody forgets to ask what state a person was born in, forgets to ask one of the questions. It



2	very much greater. I think it was approximately the same.
3	Q Could you tell us how many special Deputy Registrars
4	were working for the Coalition?
5	A. Between 6 and 800. I cannot give you a definite
6	count.
7	Q Pardon me?
8	A. Between 6 and 800.
9	Q Between 6 and 800. You can't give us any closer
10	approximation?
11	A. Well, it's pretty close, actually. I could probably
12	do that. I could go home and count my cards. As I said, I
13	have the records of who the Registrars were.
14	Q In other words, you, yourself, kept a record of
15	every Deputy Registrar that was working for the Coalition?
16	A. Yes.
17	Q I think that they didn't pick those up in the
18	burglary, did they?
19	A No, they did not.
SO	Q Did they pick up any of the records of the Coalition
21	in the burglary?
22	A. No, none of the records.
23	Q Very good.
24	A. Somehow, they did not think they were that
25	important, apparently.

was no less than before, but I do not think, if greater, not



ı	A.	Certainly.
1	Ď.	When the Deputy Registrar returned a book to you,
ı	did they	also return a slip of paper upon which all of the
l	names of	the voters appeared, and the address of the voter?
ľ	A.	Yes, they did.
1	Q	I think Mr Could you tell us what the sheet of
	paper was?	
	A.	That was a record of who they had registered for
	their own	records, and also, it was what the San Francisco
	Voter Registration Committee paid thirty-five cents per	
	registered voter off of.	
	Q.	And did you have the precinct, each of the voters?
	A.	Yes, we did.
	Q.	And in the course of that operation, did you find
	errors in	address?
	A.	A few, yes.
	Õ	This was another check on the validity of the
	affidavit?	
	A.	Unfortunately, it was done after they were paid,
	but, yes,	it was done.
	Õ	Did you find a number of errors in making this
	precinct check?	
-	A.	There were a few. Again, to go back to my experience

I think that Mr. Todd would like to look at some of

these, if we may, please, to develop the relevancy of them.



they were the normal amount; no more, no less. There were some people that were registered at addresses, obviously, that were not in the precinct, but that was probably at a rate of a lot less than one percent.

- Q. Now, in the instance of these errors that you discovered, you first attempted to correct them?
 - A. (Witness nods head.)
 - Q Is that true?
 - A Those kinds of errors, where the address was incorrect -
- 10 Q Yes.

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- A -- did not exist? Again, the precincting is something that occurred much after the books were handed in. As a matter of fact, we did the precincting, for our own records, all the way through 'till after the drive was over. In fact, most of the precincting was done after the drive was over.
- Q Now, was this information turned over to the Registrar of the Voters?
 - A No, it was not.
 - Q Do you have it available for us to see?
 - A I have some of it available. The precincting was done in a wide variety of forms, and it turned out to be unnecessary to do, and we did not decide to use the records. I have probably the majority of the pages. I do not have all of them.
 - Q We would be mainly interested in seeing those where



23 24 25 you found errors in address, or absence of an address.

- I would have to go through all of them to find those, because we did not keep those separate.
 - We would be only too glad to work with you.

Now, if we go in the affidavit books themselves, you are obviously familiar with those?

- (Witness nods head.)
- Who in the Coalition was charged with the responsibility of checking those out of the Registrar's Office?
 - A. Myself.
- Can you give us an idea of how many you checked out during the '75 Voter Registration Drive?
- Again, I have the records, and I do have the complete records on those. I have not counted them recently. It is between 2500 and, I think, it's more around 3000. I think I counted around 3100 at that time, when I counted them.
- At the end of the voter registration drive, were there some affidavit books outstanding?
 - Yes, there were. A.
 - About how many? Q.
- At the very end, on October 6, I believe there were about a hundred and fifty, but in the next week and a half or so, we wound that down to, I believe, a final total of a little more than 50, and, of course, I have the records of who supposedly had those books and turned those into the Registrar's



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- Q Am I correct in saying that those that were outstanding, you were able to identify the individual to whom they had been given?
 - A. Yes.
- Q And, am I also correct in saying that that information was given to the District Attorney's Office by you?
 - A. It was given to the Registrar's Office by me.
 - Q To the Registrar's Office by you?
- A This was a standard procedure. I always do it at the end of a registration drive, because we have always had some books, when you do, again, a large registration drive, that do not return. The person has moved, or lost the book, or what have you.
- Q Now, in the course of studying the affidavits, did you find any that you thought were forged or fraudulent?
 - A I did not, no.
- Q. You found errors and omissions, but that was about the extent of it?
- A. Yes. And again, as I say, it showed up in the checking, on the voter, the precincting.
- Q You had nothing to do with the Frontlash during this period of time?
- A No. There was one connection with Frontlash, the one job I did do for the San Francisco Voter Registration



Committee. They had an agreement that they would pay for Frontlash. I would get pay sheets from Frontlash, delivered over, and I was authorized to write out the remuneration checks for those things. That was the only dealings that I had, not that the Coalition had, but that I had with Frontlash.

Q And were you the one who also returned the books to the Registrar's Office?

A. Yes. Sometimes I had assistance on this, and sometimes other people, one of the people that was staffing, doing volunteer work in the office on a regular basis, would do this. But I was the person that was responsible for this.

- Q You were responsible for them?
- A. Yes.

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- Q You signed them out?
- A (Witness nods head.)
- Q Now, can you give us an idea of how many groups were in the Coalition? Just as close a number as possible.
- A Again, that were the actual Steering Committee, or that participated? Participation was approximately 30 groups. And again, that is in the record that you have there (indicating).
- Q Now, about how many voters did the Coalition register during the '75 Drive?
- A little over 40,000. It got very, very hectic in the last week, and we did not make an exact, accurate count. We had new (unintelligible) 35,000. The last week is when everything



comes back in, and you get not the regular people turning in, but you get the people that have one book, and they have five registrations in a piece, and you have a stack of record sheets like this (indicating), and it gets extremely hard to count them, and you are more worried, obviously, about getting the books back in. It was over 40,000, not many more than forty-one or two thousand.

- Q Well, how was the compensation of the Deputy Registrars handled?
- A As I said, I was the one that wrote out the checks. I would collect each week's sheets, and obviously, alphabetize them by person, and then count up the total number of registered voters, multiply that times thirty-five cents, and write out a check for that amount. Books were handed in; I believe we had -- Sometimes it varied between Wednesday and Thursday; I think it was a Wednesday turn-in -- and then checks would then be ready on Saturday.
- Q. Were there any instances where affidavits were turned in and you refused to make payment?
 - A. No.

- Q Now, was the Delancey Street Foundation part of the Coalition?
- A The People's Democratic Club, which is made up of people outside of Delancey Street, but also of people that are Delancey Street members, was part of the Coalition.



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Q. Now, how many groups that you were aware of, working, active in the registration drive in 1975, outside of the Coalition and its member groups --

- A. How many other groups were doing voter registration?
- Q Yes.
- A Obviously, I was down at the Registrar's Office on a fair number of occasions, so I did see a number of things coming in. Frontlash; the League was active; your campaign (indicating Chairman Barbagelata) was active, either before the registration -- I think after the November election, our total campaign was active. There were a number of other groups: There were Free Farmers for something or other, and various different little splinter groups, but I think those were the main actives, those are the ones that I can remember.
- Q. Now, are you aware of whether or not these other groups were paying the Deputy Registrars for the affidavits?
 - A. No, I am not. I do not know if they were or not.
 - Q Frontlash was, though, to your knowledge?
- A Frontlash was paying through the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee.
 - Q That was the same source of funding as the Coalition?
 - A Yes, it was.
- MR. MOMBOISSE: I have no further questions. I would refer the --

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Do you have any questions, Mr.



1 Todd? 2 MR. TODD: No. QUESTIONS BY THE SELECT COMMITTEE 3 CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: I just have a couple of 4 guestions here. 5 α Have you ever worked for Mr. Don Bradley & Associates? 6 A. Yes. I have. 7 Did you work last year for Don Bradley & Associates? 8 a 9 A. I worked, I believe, in the month of April, for one 10 month. 11 Did you receive any compensation? a 12 A Indeed, I do. I am a professional. I always receive 13 compensation. 14 a From Don Bradley & Associates? 15 Yes. I did. A. 16 a Do you recall that amount? I received eight hundred and thirty-five dollars. 17 A 18 Did Mayor Moscone contribute to the drive? 19 He did not contribute to the Coalition. 20 a Did he contribute to the registration drive? 21 A. That, you would have to ask the person, Mr. Jaicks, 22 who was the head of the San Francisco Voter Registration 23 Committee.

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SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Hold it one second, now.

recognize you wouldn't have all of the information, I realize,

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but there is, among the documents which you desired to read into the record, there is one that says the Mayor, Moscone, contributed \$5,000.

THE WITNESS: I do not know. He did not contribute that to the Coalition. We did not raise more than approximately \$1500. I think that may refer to the fact that he may have given to the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: There is a statement, "Coalition to Register 100,000 New Voters," dated October 13th, 1975, a release, and it says: "For further information, contact Mike Mason." And in that statement itself, it says: "The Mayorial candidates were less forthcoming. Mayor Moscone contributed \$5,000, but all others refused the Coalition's requests."

THE WITNESS: I do. That may be a very inaccurate statement, because, I remember at one time -- and again, Supervisor Barbagelata may be better able to say this -- there was a time when he said that he would contribute \$5,000, I remember, on voter registration, if the other candidates for Mayor would do the same, to make that \$25,000. If I remember right, the other candidates never --

(Supervisor Francois indicating document.)

THE WITNESS: I am aware of what you are pointing out.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Well, this was something that
you released.

THE WITNESS: So . . .?



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sir.

24 25 SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: A statement that you released -THE WITNESS: Well, it was released by the Coalition.
SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: With an indication that, for

further information, contact you at 285-3138 or 626-9500. Is that correct?

THE WITNESS: Is it correct that my number is on there? Yes, it is, sir.

BY SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS:

Q But according to this, it is a statement that you released. Let me show it to you (showing document to witness).

MR. WELCH (from the floor): Excuse me. I wrote the press release, and I will be happy, when I testify, to make a statement what the meaning of that press release is.

THE WITNESS: I did not write that, as I said.

MR. WELCH (from the floor): Mike Mason --

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: May I proceed without being interrupted, Mr. Chairman?

This is a statement that, when you took the microphone you asked that you be allowed to read into the record.

MR. MOMBOISSE: No, that's a statement that -THE WITNESS: No, that is not the statement I asked,

MR. MOMBOISSE: That's a statement that Calvin Welch wrote, and which we will introduce next.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: I see. I see.



- Q But, in any event, this is a press release which has the indication, "For further information, contact Mike Mason." You are Mike Mason?
- A That's correct. And, are you asking me for further information? I will give you further information.
 - Q And I ask you if it's true that the statement --
 - A. When I was saying --
- Q -- that you are to be contacted, that it says that Mr. Moscone is going to contribute \$5,000, and the other candidates refused to contribute, and you can take a look at it (indicating).
- A I know it's there. I will hold it for you, if you like, sir, but, as I said, are you asking me for further information? Because that's what I'm trying to give you.
 - Q No, I am asking if that is what you --
- A. That is contained in the statement, and if you are asking me for further information, I would be glad to give it. As it says here on the top, I did not, again, write this press release.
 - Q And it indicates that Lorraine Lahr contributed?
 - A. Yes, that's true.
- Q And there was, Mr. Covington, he was a candidate? He contributed?
 - A. Mr. who?
 - Q Covington, he was a candidate?



1 A. Bob Covington, not to my knowledge. No, he was not.
2 I think you're confusing him with Mr. Thomas.
3 Q. Not Covington, Mr. Thomas. He was a member of the
4 Coalition that contributed; is that right?
5 A. Yes, he was.
6 Q. So, in other words, what I am saying is --

A. I am not sure -- hold on. I am not sure if Arnold Townsend's campaign contributed. I don't know if that's written here.

4 There is a picture there where Mr. Townsend is one of the leading members of the Coalition.

A I believe that is not true. I think you were confusing Mr. Covington and Mr. Townsend, which would probably upset them very much. That is Robert Covington, not Arnold Townsend.

Q Let me see.

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(Pause while Supervisor Francois examines document.)

THE WITNESS: As a matter of fact, to my knowledge, around, Townsend's campaign did not contribute, and was not a member of the Coalition.

BY SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS:

- Q Lorraine Lahr's?
- A. Yes.
- Q Harvey Milk's?
- A Campaign contributed, also.

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 They were contributors?

A (Witness nods head.) Also, Supervisors Kopp, Gonzales and Molinari, although they did not, none of them contributed a total of a hundred dollars to become a member of the Steering Committee. The total amount the three of them contributed, together, as I think I pointed out in that, was a hundred and seventy-five dollars; but they did contribute, also.

Q So, where did most of the money come from?

A Most of the money came from the member organizations. Although there was fund-raising done outside of it, I think over half of it came from groups, such as Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood Council, CRG, SFT, FIN, BHANG, various different organizations, which, again, pledged. Filipino Voters League, People's Democratic Club, each of these came forward with a hundred dollars. As I said, the total we raised, I believe, was not in excess of seventeen hundred and fifty dollars. It was between 1500 and \$1750. It was to pay for the office, and to pay for the running of that office.

Q So, seventeen hundred and fifty dollars was the total amount paid?

A Again, I am not the Treasurer. I was not the Treasurer, and I am merely the staff. That is merely to the best of my recollection.

- Q And how much did you pay for registration?
- A We did not directly pay. We coordinated paying.



San Francisco Voters Registration Committee, led by Mr. Agar Jaicks, was the one that paid the registration, the thirty-five cents per name.

- Was that funded through the Coalition?
- The checks were written on San Francisco Voter Registration Committee checks. It was merely administered by us. This was an arrangement that was worked out after a lot of serious discussions.
 - But the checks were written payable to the Coalition? α
- No, they were not; they were written payable to each individual.
- I see. So, what was the largest contribution of any one candidate?
 - Probably a hundred dollars to the Coalition.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA:

- You say to the Coalition. Did somebody make larger contributions than a hundred dollars to some group or organization that was associated, affiliated, directly or indirectly, with your drive?
- If you are talking about the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee, which actually paid the thirty-five cents, I do not, I am not privy to the financial records of that group, so you would have to check that.
 - Who would have those records? a
 - I would assume that Mr. Jaicks would have those



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BY SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS:

- Q Why? Would you issue a statement saying that you had received a five thousand dollars contribution without, again --
- A I, again, sir, respectfully suggest that you talk to the writer of that statement, rather than myself, who is more than happy to testify.
- Q Well, if you had been contacted by others for the information, what information would you have given them about the \$5000?
- A. I would say, to my knowledge -- not to my knowledge -to fact, that the Coalition did not receive \$5000. I think
 that this, again, you should actually question the person that
 wrote the statement. I think the inference in there is that
 that money was supposedly used for voter registration. Whether
 it was or not, again, I do not know.
 - 0 Was it received?
- A It was not received by the Coalition. Whether it was received by San Francisco Voter Registration Committee, either directly from Senator Moscone, at that time, which I doubt, or through people that were contributing to help him, quote, unquote, you would have to again ask Mr. Jaicks.
- Q Did anyone contact you for further information about those --



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- As a matter of fact, no.
- Well, there were statements issued condemning the Examiner for making false statements by the Coalition; isn't that true?
 - Yes, there were.
- α You had a press conference in which you accused the Examiner?

A. If you will notice in the back of that thing, right there (indicating), on the very last page, gives a very good example of the -- the small column from the Examiner quotes that we made these accusations against the Examiner, against inaccuracy. And it says, spelled Sue Hestor, and it's spelled, (spelling) "e-r," and it's (spelling) o-r, from the Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood --

MR. WELCH (from the floor): Haight-Ashbury Council. THE WITNESS: -- and it's the Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood Council, and she does not belong to the Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood Council. The actual report proves our point. They are inaccurate.

BY SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS:

- So, you denounced the Examiner for making false Q. statements, but you put out a press release saving that \$5000 was received, which in fact, was not received.
- Again, I suggest that you talk to the person that made the statement.



A Sir, what you did this morning I have no knowledge of. So I could not say anything is true or false. What this gentleman wrote, I did not write, and so you will have to ask him.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Well, this is evasion.

THE WITNESS: It is not evasion.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: I just have a couple simple questions.

- Q. You said the money, I believe, was at a minimum in the drive. And then, I think you said, you registered something like 40,000 new voters. Did you keep a record of each of the new registrants?
- A Yes, we did. As I said, we collected, we have the sheets that, the record sheets --
 - Q Of each new voter?

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- A list from each book. Each book has 25.
- Q. Did you make those 40,000 new voters available to any candidates, last year's campaign?



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24 25 Q Pardon?

- A. We offered them to all the members of the Coalition, to use, which is why we were keeping them.
 - Q You are the only one that had that set of --
- A. Well, we were the only persons that had the actual record sheets. Obviously, if you have any knowledge of computers, you can just simply go down to the Registrar's Office and get the tape and pull off who was new and who was not.
- Q It is not that easy. You will not know who has been registered unless you do a tremendous amount of work.
 - A. Yes.
- Q. We all know that. It was 40,000 people that were registered in San Francisco?
- A. Wait, sir. Can I make a correction? There were 45,000 people registered. They were not all necessarily new.
- 0. 45,000 new registered voters. Is that a correct statement?
- A No, it is not. 45,000 people registered. A lot of them were changes of address, and those are not considered by the Registrar's Office to be new. They are just simply changes. They do not add numbers to the rolls.
- Q Well, let me try it again. Your efforts made 40,000 more people legally registered, possible to vote?
 - A Yes. That is true, because they would not have been



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able to vote at their address. Correct.

- Q Okay. The next question is: Were you the only one that had these 40,000 names and addresses?
 - A. To my knowledge, yes.
- Q And you are saying that you never gave that information, the names and addresses of those 40,000, to any candidate?
- A. We offered them to the members of the Coalition.
 None took them up.
- Q So, to this day, you are the only person that has ever seen them?
 - A I don't know what you are driving at, but yes.
- Q What I am driving at is: Through your efforts as a Deputy Registrar, you were privy to a select list of new registered voters. You were in a very powerful position, because that list is not available to anyone else, and you can't get it out of the Registrar's Office without a lot of complicated maneuvering through the files, and so forth.

So, the question is -- and I don't know whether it's legal or not: Is it right to be able to maintain a list of the newly registered voters? And if you do have a list, the question is: Who had access to that list?

A as it turned out, no one except ourselves.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Okay. Do you have any other questions?



SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Yes. 1 You said I should ask Mr. Welch about this release, 2 even though you, your name appears as the one to contact. I 3 know, incidentally, that there's a notation, "Calvin Welch, Δ Welch copy." Who put that on, (indicating), that printing? 5 6

- Probably, Mr. Welch, who put that packet together.
- When did you first see this release? ۵
- A. When did I see that release? I saw that release when it came out, which, I think, was back in -
 - a October.

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- -- October.
- Now, at that time, you knew that statement about the \$5000 was false?
 - Sir, I did not say the statement was false.
- Well, I'm asking you, was it true or false, did you get \$5000, as the statement says?
- Sir, can I ask you a question? Does the statement say the Coalition received \$5000 from Senator George Moscone? Is that what it says?
 - Yes. α
- Where does it say that? May I see that, sir? May I see that?
 - a Let me read it to you.

"In early July, the Coalition sent out urgent letters for financial support to all



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candidates and political parties to assist the Coalition in registering voters. In short, the Coalition would fund the program it wanted the City to fund. Thirty-five cents would be paid for every valid registration and a city-wide drive would occur.

Three incumbent supervisors -- Gonzales, Molinari and Kopp -- made contributions totalling \$175. Supervisorial candidates Harvey Milk and Lorraine Lahr both contributed \$1000 each" --THE WITNESS: 100.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: I mean "\$100 each."

"The mayorial candidates were less forthcoming. Senator Moscone contributed \$5000, but all others refused the Coalition's request."

Now, does that statement say that Senator Moscone contributed \$5000 to the Coalition, or doesn't it?

MR. WELCH (from the floor): It doesn't.

THE WITNESS: It does not.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: I'm flabbergasted, to say the least, but it's in the record.

Now, you list the members of the Coalition on the same press release. You list Lahr for Supervisor, Milk for Supervisor. You don't list Senator -- or Supervisor Kopp; you don't list Supervisor Gonzales; you don't list Supervisor



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2	Α.	Again, as I mentioned earlier, that the qualifications
3	Q	Let me finish the question.
4	A.	Okay.
5	Q	Is that a true copy of the list of the members of the
6	Coalition?	
7	A.	No. There's one group missing on this list. That's
8	the Stany	an-Fulton Neighborhood Association.
9	Q	There's one missing?
10	A.	Yes.
11	Q	What's the name of this organization that's missing?
12	A.	The Stanyan-Fulton Neighborhood Association.
13	Q	Otherwise, the list is complete?
14	A.	To the best of my knowledge, yes.
15	Q	All right. Which Supervisorial candidates, or
16	candidates are on that list?	

Barbagelata.

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A. The Supervisorial candidates that are on this list are Lahr for Supervisor and Milk for Supervisor.

Q And you said you made an offer to all of the Coalition candidates, or members, rather, for access to this list; is that right?

A. That is correct. The list belonged to them; they were the Coalition.

Q. But they were the only persons that were offered access to the list?



to the list? 3 4 A. Indeed, you were not. 5 In fact, you didn't even ask me, did you? a 6 A. Yes, we did. You did? 7 a 8 Indeed, we did. Well, you didn't receive any, did you? 9 a 10 A. No. we did not. 11 Well, so why did you give me credit in the news 12 release for having paid somebody, or sent you for giving 13 money that's not received? You do say that this \$5000 was 14 not received by the Coalition? 15 That's true. A. 16 But it's a true statement? 17 Again, I do not know what it refers to. I do not, 18 you know, go over all the things that the people in an 19 organization go over. So again, I suggest, seeing he's the 20 next witness, Mr. Welch, possibly you ask him about this. 21 That does not say --22 a Who kept the financial records?

Outsiders, like myself, were not offered any access

That's true.

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to appear?

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Ms. Bierman was the Treasurer of the organization.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Has Ms. Bierman been asked



23 25 MR. MOMBOISSE: Pardon?

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Has Ms. Bierman been asked to appear?

MR. MOMBOISSE: The author of the particular press release will be called this morning.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Well. I think we ought to ask Ms. Bierman, because I'm not clear as to whether these monies were received or not. I can't get an answer which is understandable to me. But certainly, the Treasurer would know whether this 5000 was received or not, and I would suggest that we should have the Treasurer here.

MR. MOMBOISSE: I'm sure that one of the other witnesses this morning will be able to answer that. Supervisor. If not, I am sure Mr. Mason would be only too willing to come back and cooperate with us, if he can.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Well, I think I have gotten all I can from Mr. Mason. Mr. Mason says the statement is true. The statement says that \$5000 was received. \$5000 was not received, but still the statement is true. Now, perhaps you can --

THE WITNESS: Again, I did not say whether the statement was true or false --

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Well, let me ask you, though:

- a Is the statement true or false?
- -- because my knowledge of what I said the statement



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to be meaning is not that it was contributed to the Coalition, but that \$5000 went into the voter registration. Obviously, we have talked about the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee, which funded the thirty-five cents a name. Now, whether Senator Moscone gave, or had given \$5000 to that particular organization, or offered to give, I do not know.

- Q Well, doesn't the statement --
 - Again, I did not write the statement, sir.
- Q. Would you -- The statement with respect to Senator Moscone, doesn't it have reference to the earlier statement about the letters that were sent out requesting money for the Coalition?
 - A. To assist the Coalition.
 - 0. Yeah.
 - A. It doesn't ask to give money to the Coalition.
- Q. Then, the release goes on to say what the response through the letters was.
 - A. Um-hum.
- Q And one of the responses listed was that Senator Moscone contributed \$5000 to a response to a letter from the Coalition.
 - Now, isn't that true?
 - A. That's what it says.
 - Q All right.
 - CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Mr. Mason, do you know whether



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it's legal to pay, use private funds to pay for voter
registration?

THE WITNESS: No, I do not. I have always assumed it has, because it's been done for many years.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: I don't have any other questions.

MR. MOMBOISSE: Let me --

SUPERVISOR NELDER: What is the date of this copy?

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: This document is dated

October 13th, 1975.

BY SUPERVISOR NELDER:

Q Mr. Mason, I haven't seen the document, but evidently, Supervisor Francois indicates that this document, which was a press release, suggests that you be called for any interpretation for information.

Did you read it --

- Yes, I did.
- Q -- when it was issued? And how could you answer these questions if you didn't know the facts?
- A I would answer them just exactly as the way I have tried to answer this gentleman right here. I would say that the Coalition, itself, did not receive money from George Moscone, and I would suggest that they call Agar Jaicks to find out if he had received that money. It was my knowledge that the Senator did make some effort in voter registration to



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cooperate with the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee.

Bow large that effort was, I do not know.

- Q Like, for instance, one of the sentences that I remember Supervisor Francois was reading said that the other candidates were less forthcoming. What does that mean?
 - A They didn't contribute to voter registration.
 - Q Meaning Mayoralty candidates?
- A. Yes. I think, I believe it says "Mayoral candidates" there, I believe.
- Q Well, if you knew they were less forthcoming, how did you know that, or did you or did you not know that Senator Moscone paid \$5000?
- A. I do not know exactly what he did pay, sir, but I know that he was involved with the efforts of the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee. How closely, again, you would have to ask Mr. Jaicks.
- Q And everything -- It's probably my fault for being here, coming in late -- but do you have a superior who was over you?
- A I was working for the Steering Committee of the Coalition to Register 100,000 Voters.
- Q. And you would be responsible to the Steering Commission?
 - A. Yes, I was.
 - Q Who would that be?



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24 25 A That would be one representative from each of the member groups. There is one of the members here, who, again, wrote this press release, who, I am sure, is most anxious to talk to you about that.

- Q That's Calvin Welch?
- A. Yes.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: I have no further questions.

MR. MOMBOISSE: May I ask a question to clarify?

- Q With regard to the finances, you first indicated that each group contributed a hundred dollars in money or time; is that correct?
 - A. Yes.
- Q Who else, to your knowledge, contributed to the Coalition?
- A As stated in there (indicating), Supervisors Kopp, Molinari and Gonzales contributed, and various individuals contributed.
 - Q Do you have any records that would indicate --
 - The Treasurer would have those records.
 - Q Who would have them?
 - A. The Treasurer, Sue Bierman.
 - Q All right, fine.

Then, one -- with regard to your statement, there is an indication there that you not be called by the Committee until you managed to be heard.



are.

. That is correct.

MR. MOMBOISSE: I would like to point out, for your information and for the record, that it was my intent to call you from the beginning. We attempted to get you last week. I think we finally did make contact with you.

THE WITNESS: It seemed very peculiar to us that the organization that did the largest amount of registration was not the first people that you called. It may have been your intent, but we had to come and ask to be heard.

MR. MOMBOISSE: You didn't have to.

THE WITNESS: Again, we can't know what your intentions

. CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Mr. Mason, may I clarify that, also. Were you ever contacted by the Investigator for the Committee?

THE WITNESS: Not until, again, last week. They contacted me the day before the last hearing that you had.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: You realize that most of the people that testified here before were City employees with respect to the meeting that went on?

THE WITNESS: Yes, but you also had Mr. Jaicks, and you called Mr. Crowley at that time, from Frontlash, beforehand, and you called no one from the Coalition.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Well, that's not exactly correct.



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MR. MOMBOISSE: They were all here last week when you were scheduled to appear, when we tried to make contact.

(Simultaneous discussion.)

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: -- Well. I'd like to say that when we called Mr. Jaicks, we get some answers. We call you, and we get referred to somebody else on the basis that you know nothing about this. You were the person who was listed as being best informed, but --

THE WITNESS: I run registration drives.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: -- but you profess to know nothing about it. And you keep referring to Mr. Welch. So, I don't know why you were so anxious to testify, since you seem to know so little.

THE WITNESS: Sir, I seem to know a great deal more about the subject than you do. But, I came here to testify, and I was told I was here to testify on the running of, the gathering of the signatures, which was my staff job. My staff job was not to raise money for the Coalition. It was not to write press releases. My job was very simple: To run a voter registration drive, which I do as well, if not better than, anyone in the State.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: Mr. Chairman, let me ask a question.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: (Nods head.)

BY SUPERVISOR NELDER:



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To my knowledge, yes, they were.



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Q I will tell you, very frankly, the reason I am asking the question, I didn't see anything, and I was the Chairman of her campaign.

A. I do not know. Again, I was tasked with the actual day-to-day running of the drive.

Q Would there be a reason for us not being notified?

A No, there would not be a reason for you not being notified.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: I have no questions.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: For the record, I didn't receive anything, either.

You have any questions?

MR. MOMBOISSE: No further questions.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: I just want you to know that we appreciate your cooperation, and there was no, even, thought of asking you to be Subpoenaed, because we had been told you were most cooperative. There are some questions that still are not answered today, but there are people that had to be Subpoenaed, because they still refused to come to these hearings.

The goal of this, contrary to some of the statements here, is to provide the Registrar's Office with a precise and detailed information with respect to what went on in the last two elections. Filed in the Committee's files is a 40-page document of the various things that went on during election.



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It was gathered during the recount. Those haven't even been publicized. Those will eventually be given to our new Registrar. Hopefully, we won't have such confusion again.

So, I hope you don't feel slighted that we didn't call you. Thank you very much.

THE WITNESS: Thank you.

(Witness leaves witness stand.)

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Mr. Quinn . . .

MR. QUINN (from the floor): Yes.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: I just have one, or a few guestions.

(Mr. Quinn approaches the witness stand.)

MR. QUINN: I have been previously sworn, if you

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Right.

FRANK R. QUINN,

appearing as a witness before Board of Supervisors Special Select Committee on Voter Fraud, who, having been previously duly sworn by the Clerk, testified as follows:

BY CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA:

Q. If somebody has access, a new list of newly registered voters such as we are talking about here today, 40,000 or whatever it might be, and the general public wants to get those same names of those new people, he has a choice of buying a tape, but then, on that tape, that computer tape,



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that wouldn't show who were the new people, or would that tape be up to date?

A I believe the tape would be up to date, and the only way you could find it from the tape would be to program out those persons having been registered, or having an affidavit number within the sequence of time which you wanted to know.

- So, that would be rather difficult to do?
- A A programmer could do it. There would be expense involved.
- Q Wouldn't it be an advantage for somebody to have a -since our registration rolls are turning over all the time -a list of all the newly registered voters in the City?

A. The list is available to everyone. One of my greatest complaints on the law is that registration ceases on the 30th day before election, and we cannot compile our lists in order to give time to each candidate to get a current list of voters.

When we stopped at the 54th day prior to the election, this was a comparatively easy situation.

- Q Now, this year, when was the deadline for turning in registrations, October something?
- A. Yes, it was the 29th day prior to the election, in June -- or November.
- Q. So, somebody has that list 29 days before the election. Is there any way that they could get that



information out of your office in those 29 days?

A. Yes, by waiting until a list was completed.

Let me explain this --

Q Before you go on that, when you say "waiting until a list is completed," did you have a list available, computer list, dated after October 6, or whatever it was, that was available to the general public?

- A That's what I wanted to explain.
- Q Did you, or didn't you?
- 10 A. Yes, we did.
- 11 Q It was available?
- 12 A. It was available at a later date. That's what I want to make plain here.
- 14 Q Okay.

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 A. That the 29th day cutoff doesn't mean that the

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 list is available on the 28th day. It is usually not available,

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 unfortunately, until about the 15th to 10th day, depending on

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 the number of affidavits that come in.
- 19 Q So, the orders are, until 10 days to two weeks before
 20 an election, that list would not be available to anyone, or
 21 the newly registered voters --
 - A No, not quite true.
 - Q -- identifying them as newly registered voters?
 - A. Oh, no. The list doesn't identify them as such.
 - Specifically, you would have to get the date of the registration,



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or the affidavit number.

Q So, the question is: Nobody other than the person who has access or holds a copy of those newly registered voters could get that information out of the Registrar's Office?

A. Not unless you programmed it out, again, as I say. That's the only way it could be done.

Q Okay. Thank you.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: I think -- may I get into this? I think what Supervisor Barbagelata wants to develop is that there is a definite advantage for someone to have, in his possession, his or her possession, a separate list of all the newly registered voters, say, on the 29th day of October, so we don't have to go to the Registrar's Office. He's got a list of all the people that he or she knows are newly registered voters.

THE WITNESS: I would --

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: They cannot be approached on behalf of a candidate; whereas, the candidate who doesn't have it wouldn't have any place to go and get it until 15 days later.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Then -- and then, Supervisor -- BY SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS:

And they would have to pay some sum of money to run it through the computer.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: You would have to do it on your



own, if you could do it.

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THE WITNESS: That would be true, yes.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Okay. Thank you.

(Witness leaves stand.)

MR. MOMBOISSE: I would like to call at this point,
Mrs. Alexander, from the League of Women Voters, who was
scheduled to appear, and has been very patient.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: I'm sorry.

JUDITH ALEXANDER,

appearing as a witness before Board of Supervisors Special Select

Committee on Voter Fraud, who, being first duly sworn by the

Clerk, testified as follows:

EXAMINATION BY MR. MOMBOISSE

MR. MOMBOISSE: May we have your name for the record, please?

THE WITNESS: I am Judith Alexander, a member of the Leaque of Women Voters of San Francisco.

MR. MOMBOISSE: I will bring you up to date on some of the testimony that we have previously had.

There has been indication that there were three major voter registration groups active in the 1975 voter registration drive. The Coalition, represented by Mr. Mason; Frontlash, by Mr. Brown; and the League of Women Voters. So, we wanted to touch with all three what had occurred during that period of time.



So, I'll try to direct specific questions to you -THE WITNESS: Yes.

MR. MOMBOISSE: -- that may help you.

THE WITNESS: Yes.

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BY MR. MOMBOISSE:

- Q. The first is, the League of Women Voters has conducted voter registration drives in the past?
 - A Oh, yes, many times.
- Q And could you give us an idea of how many years, or when that began?
- A Well, I arrived in San Francisco in 1966. I was

 Voter Service Chairman when I arrived. And in 1967, I recall,
 we conducted a special effort in low voting, low registration
 areas, really. What we did was to borrow a motorized cablecar
 from MUNI, and we went to specific areas, try to have flyers
 put in shop windows, and so forth, to alert people that our
 cablecar would be there on a particular day. And we were
 assigned several people from MUNI to accompany us, of course,
 and to drive the bus. And we were there for four to six hours
 during the daytime.

We did this over a period of about six weeks, and we did get many registrations. Frankly, I don't have those figures.

- Q All right. Fine.
- A I didn't know that I was going to be asked for this



kind of information. I can get it for you, if you like.
Q Now, who did the actual registering? Did you

Q Now, who did the actual registering? Did you have Deputy Registrars assigned to these drives from the Registrar's Office?

A. Oh, no, no. Our members went down to City Hall and were trained, and, you know, we're all volunteers --

Q Yes.

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- A -- with the League, and so, we worked out some kind of a time schedule where people could give a day during the period of registration.
- Q So, the special Registrars that worked for the League of Women Voters would be members of the League of Women Voters?
- A. Yes. Oh, yes. And we don't usually take everybody who volunteers. What we do is ask people who we know will be very good at this kind of thing -- people are good at different things, you know; and the League has many different kinds of activities -- so, in a very general way, you might say we screened those who act as Deputy Registrars.
- Q Now, what about the training of your special Deputy Registrars. Did you do it yourself, or --
- A. No. Up until this year, it was always done at City
 Hall. We were told that there would be no training outside of
 City Hall.
- Q. Now, in 1975, where were your Deputy Registrars trained?



	A. Th	mey were trained partly in my house. I held meetings	
	for certain	people who indicated that they were available. And	
I did some training, also, at the League office, with permissi			
from the Registrar's Office.			
	Q Fi	ine. Now, who did the training?	
	A. I	did.	
	Q Yo	ou trained them?	
	A. Ye	es.	
1	о на	eve you gone to any training classes conducted by	

A Yes.

the Deputy Registrar?

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- Q Do you happen to know the name of the member of the Registrar's staff that conducted the training classes for teachers?
- A The last one I attended was before the November '75 election, and Jay Patterson did the training that day.
 - Q I see.
- A Previous times, I think Bud Renstrom did, but I don't recall.
- Q Fine. Were you authorized, then, to train Deputy Registrars?
 - A Yes.
 - Q. And to give them the Oath of Office?
- A. Yes.
 - Q And you did so?



A.	Yes	

- Q Do you have any idea of how many you trained in '75?
- A. Oh, gee! I don't have the '75 figure. I can tell you how many we trained before the June election. We trained 17 people before June.

I can go back and get the pre-November numbers, if you want me to.

Q That's fine. If you can give us an approximation.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Would you say it's 10 more or 15 more? It wouldn't be too many more?

THE WITNESS: Oh, it might be less. As you know, we have a very large program in the League, and we have a limited number of people available; and not all that many people have the time.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Would it be reasonable to say it was under a hundred, total?

THE WITNESS: Oh, yes. We get, maybe, 15 to 20, at the very most, people for a particular election; I mean, prior to an election. We have very few, basically, compared to the Coalition.

BY MR. MOMBOISSE:

- Q. And did you designate one person to check out the affidavits, votes in the Registrar's Office?
- A. For the November election, yes. It was either I or the Executive Secretary in the League office.



And then you would assign them to the Deputy Registrar working for you?

- The books?
- α Yes.

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- Yes. We didn't hand out the books until we knew that a particular person was going to a particular place at a
- Now, did you make any effort to check the books for
 - Yes, for errors.
- And what action would be taken if you found an error
- We found very few errors. When we found one, we attempted to contact the registrant, and if it was a lack of an address, or naturalization date, or whatever, we tried to include that; and if there were any errors we could not correct, we usually brought that to the attention of the Registrar receiving the book.
 - a Fine.
 - I think our record is rather good on errors.
- Q. Now, did you compensate the Deputy Registrars on the basis of each affidavit they obtained?
 - A No: never.
 - a Was any compensation paid?
 - A. No.



- Q It was purely volunteer?
- A. Yes. We have been offered money in previous years, but we chose not to do it.
- Q. Now, were you a member of the Coalition to Register 100,000 Voters?
 - A At one time, yes, at the beginning.
 - Q And did you sever your relationship with them?
- A. Yes. We did that because when the Mayor vetoed the legislation, there was not to be public money, and it was not necessarily a city-wide effort, and it was partisan money, as we understood it, and we could not accept it.
 - Now, your effort was to register city-wide?
- A As much as we could. We are very limited in where we can go, and --
 - Q Okay.
- A -- but, most specifically, we cannot accept money from any parties. We are a nonpartisan organization, where candidates and parties are concerned. And, in order to maintain that position, we cannot accept any funding from partisan organizations.

QUESTIONS FROM THE COMMITTEE

BY SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS:

- Q Then, I take it you did not receive any money from any candidate from an office to assist you?
 - A. No.



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Q And, as a matter of fact, your policy and your principles would not allow --

Correct.

Q -- you to receive any money from any candidate for office?

A Yes.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Thank you very much.

THE WITNESS: You are welcome.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: By the way, did you get all your books turned in to the Registrar?

THE WITNESS: Yes, I think our record is pretty good on that.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Well, I want to, I would like to offer my personal congratulations and admiration to the League for your work, generally, and for your usual fine work that was demonstrated in this voter registration drive. I think it's a ray of sunshine in a rather gloomy picture.

THE WITNESS: Thank you.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: Well, I don't have a question, but I suppose we would all be repeating ourselves. You don't take any money, you don't engage in partisan politics, and you do it voluntarily; and I think it's very refreshing, and I just want to add my compliments to that.

THE WITNESS: Thank you.

(Unintelligible discussion between witness and a member of the audience.)



MR. MOMBOISSE: We would now call Mr. Calvin Welch.
(Witness leaves stand.)

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CALVIN WELCH,

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Committee on Voter Fraud, who, being first duly sworn by the Clerk, testified as follows:

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24 25 EXAMINATION BY MR. MOMBOISSE

MR. MOMBOISSE: For the record, may we have your name, please?

appearing as a witness before Board of Supervisors Special Select

THE WITNESS: Calvin Welch.

MR. MOMBOISSE: Mr. Welch previously was kind enough to submit certain documents to us, which everyone has copies of.

I would like to introduce in the record as No. 21 --

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Yes.

MR. MOMBOISSE: They are now identified.

- Mr. Welch, you submitted a letter dated July the 9th?
- A. Yes, and I would like to be able to read that into the record, if I can.
 - Q. And it is made part of the record now.
 - A But I would still like to be able to read it.
- Q. May I ask you what the documentation is that is attached to it? Would you identify it, please?
- A It's a selection of documents, press releases and news stories covering the growth and development of the Coalition to Register 100,000 Voters.



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consecutive order --That's right. I hand-numbered --A.

-- for identification purposes. a

A. So that we might be able to go through them.

I notice that each of these pages are marked in

α Now, these were basically press releases and letters of correspondence. Have they been arranged in chronological order?

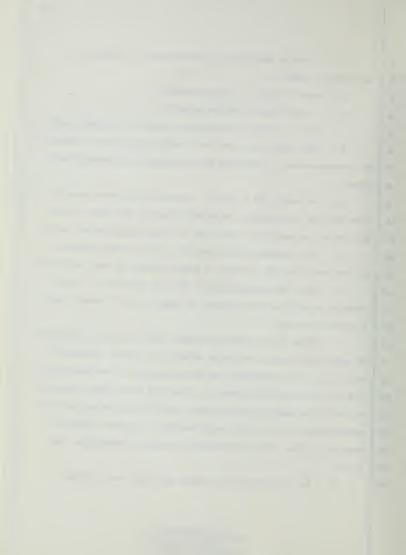
A. As nearly as I could. I have noticed that some of them are out of sequence, especially some of the news stories are out of sequence, but they are in rough chronological order.

Any document which purports to be a press release by the Coalition is, in fact, a press release by the Coalition?

Yes. My responsibility for the Coalition -- Well, perhaps we can start by turning to Page 28, if I haven't made a numbering error.

This is an undated mailing, and I include it because it gave the proposed structure which was, indeed, adopted on July 15th by the Coalition for the structure of the Coalition, and you will see that there is a Steering Committee, one each of Coalition member organizations; and then there are various subcommittees of the Steering Committee: Finance, Office of Administration, Media and Outreach Program, Membership, and so on.

And you would fall under the Media and Outreach a



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structure?

- A. Yes.
- Q In other words, you are the PR man for the Coalition?
- A. One of about two or three. There are about two or three other people on the Committee.
- Q Are the press releases appearing here, press releases that are prepared by you for the Coalition?
 - A Some are, some are not.
 - Q I think we might just as well turn to Page --
 - A If I can --
 - Q -- here it is, Page 31, marked by you --
- 2 A Right.

in.

0 -- that Supervisor Francois was particularly interested

Beginning about one-third down a paragraph:

"In early July, the Coalition sent out urgent letters for financial support to all candidates and political parties to assist the Coalition in registering voters. In short, the Coalition would fund the program it wanted the City to fund. Thirty-five cents would be paid for every valid registration and a city-wide drive would occur.

Three incumbent Supervisors -- Gonzales,

Molinari and Kopp -- made contributions totalling



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24 25 \$175. Supervisorial candidates Harvey Milk and Lorraine Lahr both contributed \$100 each.

The Mayoral candidates were less forthcoming. Senator Moscone contributed \$5000, but all others refused the Coalition's request."

I think the question was, did, in fact, Senator Moscone contribute \$5000 to the Coalition?

- A. No, he did not.
- Q Now, to whom did he contribute it?
- A It is my understanding that he contributed \$5000, or approximately that number, that amount, to the San Francisco Democratic Party's San Francisco Voter Registration Committee. We had talked with members of his campaign, and they, informally, informed us that the Senator did not feel it proper for him to contribute to a separate entity than the Democratic Party's voter registration, traditional voter registration arm, but that the Senator was very supportive and very interested in voter registration, and would make a contribution of approximately \$5000 to be used by the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee in coordination, or in conjunction with the Coalition's effort.

In fact, we ran into many people who were very interested in voter registration and had traditionally contributed to the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee and did not want, for one reason or another, to contribute to



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23 24 25 what they thought might be a competing organization; and so made their contributions, not to the Coalition, but to the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee.

It is my understanding that the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee, as a partisan body, had to file a statement. I think all of these questions can be cleared up if you look at the filing made by the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee.

- Q In fact, all of your Deputy Registrars were paid thirty-five cents per affidavit by the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee --
 - A -- San Francisco Voter Registration Committee, right.
- Q And again, did any of the Coalition's money go to the Deputy Registrars for registration?
- A the very end, there was a real concern that registrations were not occurring in the same areas, I guess that the League was interested in in 1967 -- in areas of low registration; so, the Coalition, from its own funds -- and you have to understand that the Coalition was separate and distinct from the Voter Registration, San Francisco Voter Registration Committee, but we worked very closely, and we shared the same goal, which was to register as many people as possible.

There was a slight difference, and I must be honest in saying this, and this is one of the reasons why there was a



certain amount of tension between the Coalition and between the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee. The San Francisco Voter Registration Committee is a Democratic Party organization. It was more interested than the Coalition was in registering Democrats. The Coalition was made up of organizations which are primarily neighborhood and community organizations, which, who, if they have a valid measure on the ballot, or an issue on the ballot, it's on the Municipal ballot, and by law, as far as Municipal offices are nonpartisan, it made no difference to the Coalition what party affiliation people registered. What made a difference to the Coalition was that people be registered.

- Q All right. You instructed your Deputy Registrars that they would make no distinction on the basis of party affiliation?
 - A. Repeatedly.
 - Q What?

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- A Repeatedly. And I think, if you take a look at the few books I looked at, I was rather interested to see the high numbers of the "decline to state," which was occurring in the Summer of 1975.
- Q. Now, if we can go back to this press release -by the way, did you write this press release?
 - A I did write this press release, along with the --
 - Q October 13, 1975?



A That's right.

Q Now, with regard to the contribution totaling a hundred and seventy-five from Supervisors Gonzales, Molinari and Kopp, did they contribute?

A. Well, Supervisor Molinari, of course, was a Republican, and did not feel a constraint to contribute to the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee, and he made a direct contribution to the Coalition to assist us in publicizing the work, publicizing the voter registration drive, and to assist us in our office; the same with Supervisors Kopp and Gonzales.

Q And the Supervisor candidates, Harvey Milk and Lorraine Lahr, did they contribute directly to the --

A They contributed directly to the Coalition and took a very active role. I would also like to point out that the list at the end of this, of organizations, as Mike said, does not list the Fulton-Stanyan Street Association, and is titled -- and I think this should be pointed out -- perhaps it will assist Supervisor Francois in understanding all this -- it is entitled Active Members of the Coalition to Register 100,000 Voters. By "Active Members," we meant groups and organizations that did not just contribute money, but actually went out and registered people to vote, and both the Lorraine Lahr for Supervisor and Milk for Supervisor campaign spent a great deal of time registering the people in parts of the City that they felt they had support in.



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23 24 25 Q Now, Mr. Welch, is the list of organizations which belong to the Coalition found on Page 32 a complete list of voter registration?

A. To the best of my memory at the time, which clearly was faulty, I missed Fulton-Stanyan Street Association, which is listed in, on Page 29, which is one of the other mailings that I have included here, and this lists Coalition member groups, and there's an asterisk which points out groups that contributed a hundred dollars each, in either cash, or made registrations, got the checks from the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee and contributed those to the Coalition, paid for office expenses, telephones, et cetera.

MR. MOMBOISSE: No further questions.

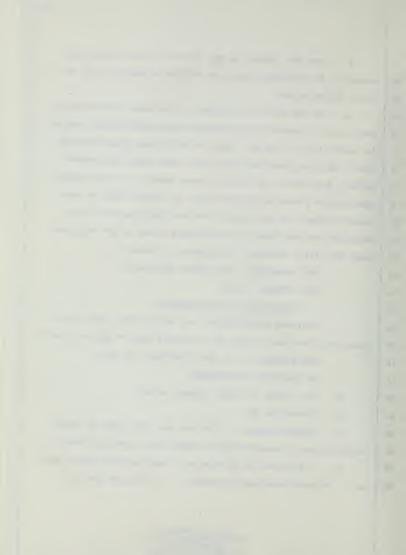
THE WITNESS: Okay.

QUESTIONS BY THE COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Mr. Welch, may I ask you a question. You have a list of -- I don't know -- maybe 10 to -- THE WITNESS: It's 28, I believe, on that.

BY CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA:

- Q 28. Okay, on that, organizations?
- A. Should be 29.
- Q Organizations. Is it not true that some of these organizations independently, on their own, gathered funds?
- A. I have no way of knowing. Some may well have. Let me -- (Witness examines documents.) -- I'm sure that the



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Lahr and Milk for Supervisor campaign independently gathered funds.

- Q Well, I think, like the Mission Hiring Hall and Organization of Young Latinos for Action --
 - A. I have no way of knowing. I don't know.
 - Q Is it possible that they did?
 - A Indeed, it is.
- Q Because, one of those groups claims to have gathered \$25,000 and contributed \$25,000 to the Organization for Young Latinos, and I received literature back that indicated that they had gathered in \$10,000. So, you don't know how much was collected by members of the Coalition, what funds were gathered separately by each of those 27 groups?
- A. No. I do know that the Organization of Latinos for Action did not give \$100 to the Coalition, but pledged to gather 300 signatures, or 300 -- I'm sorry. I'm hazy on the signature-collecting campaign -- 300 registrations.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: I have no further questions. Supervisor . .?

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Yes.

- Q Did the Coalition make any kind of report to the Registrar of Voters of its financial receipts and disbursements?
 - A. I'm sorry?
 - Q The Coalition itself?
 - A Did it make any report to the Registrar of Voters?



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- Q Or the Secretary of State?
- A No, it did not. It was our understanding that we were not required to.
 - Q Who has your financial records now?
- A Our Treasurer. And I believe your staff, I believe Mr. Todd -- I had an interview with Mr. Todd on the 25th of June, and at that time Mr. Todd told me that he had visited Ms. Bierman, and I don't know if he looked at the records, but I think he had a brief perusal of the financial records at that time. So, the Committee staff has had a look at the Coalition's records.
 - Q But they're still available?
 - A To the best of my knowledge, they are.
- Q Now, presently you are working with the YBC Select Committee?
 - A. Yes, I am.
 - Q Are you on staff, or are you a volunteer?
 - A. I'm on staff.
 - You are being paid?
 - A. I am being paid.
 - Q When did you receive that employment?
 - A I received that March, about March 10th, 1975 -- 1976.
 - That's not a Civil Service job?
- A No, and I don't understand this line of questioning, Supervisor. Are you trying to . . . If you would help me,



3	Q Well
4	A. And I personally resent it.
5	Q. Well, off base or on, I am going in the direction
6	that I have started.
7	A. Okay.
8	Q Who employed you?
9	A. I am employed by the Office of the Mayor.
10	Q. Now, you issued this press release, Page 30
11	(examining documents) Page 31, I was referring to, and
12	you say you don't know whether this \$5000 was contributed or
13	not?
14	A. No, I do not know for sure. I was told that it was
15	contributed
16	Q. By whom?
17	A. I was told, by a member of then Senator Moscone's
18	campaign organization.
19	Q Which member?
20	A. I believe the person who told me was Jean Miller.
21	Q That the \$5000 had already been contributed?
22	A. That \$5000 had been contributed by the Senator to
23	the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee, or voter
24	registration, or that \$5000 had been raised by the Senator
25	to be contributed to, for voter registration.

I might be able to . . . I think I know where you are going,

and you're clearly off base.



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- And did you check that with Mr. Agar Jaicks' --
- A I believe I cleared the statement, making a reference to the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee, with Mr.

 Jaicks, and if my memory serves me correctly, he read the release before it was released.
- Q. Now, the release said it was contributed in response to the members of the Coalition.
- A Right. The letter from the Coalition -- which I do not have a copy of, but I know that the general discussion on the Steering Committee was that, since we had been running into situations in which people did not want to contribute directly to the Coalition, we made a general pitch to contribute to voter registration, but the Coalition made the pitch.
- Q In other words, what you are telling me is that there were people who wanted to contribute to a partisan effort, and consequently, would not contribute to the Coalition because the Coalition had a nonpartisan campaign for registration going; is that right?
 - A. That's right. That's right.
- Q So they made their partisan contribution indirectly by contributing to the Democratic effort, who, in turn, paid the money to the people who were working for the Coalition.
 - A And other people. They paid --
- Q. But they did pay money to your supposed nonpartisan effort, and so you were getting partisan money, and you knew



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24 25 you were getting partisan money to conduct a supposed nonpartisan campaign; is that right?

- A. I believe the Coalition received funds from Republicans,
 Democrats and Independents, and I am not at all sure that everyone
 who contributed to the San Francisco Voter Registration
 Committee were registered Democrats. I have no way of knowing.
- Q Do you have any, did you make any computation as to number of Republicans you registered, as compared to the number of Democrats?
- A. We were not interested in that. No, we did not make any count.
- Q Didn't you have some interest in wanting to know whether it, in truth and fact, was being conducted in a nonpartisan manner?
- A As I say, a perusal of the books showed a very high degree of "decline to state."
- Q Did you have any Republican organizations in the Coalition?
- A That is -- They were mainly community organizations, and it's sometimes hard to say, since community organizations are inhabited by Republicans and Democrats. I happen to know Republicans who are in organizations who were part of the Coalition to Register 100,000 Voters. I would assume that some Deputy Registrars that were trained by the Coalition -- in fact, I know in one case that a Republican was trained.



1 That's all I personally know.

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- Q You know one Republican out of how many?
- A Now, Supervisor, that -- (simultaneous discussion) --
- Q Well, no --
- A I know of one Republican that was trained out of the many people that were trained, but that's 10 people, Supervisor, who were Republicans.
- Q How many Republicans do you know out of the several hundred you have registered?
- A I have no way of knowing. I did not handle that end of the thing. The 10 people that I know that were registered, ones who were trained as Deputy Registrars, one was a Republican; so that's 10 percent.
- Q. Now, let me ask you this. You said, you emphasized and re-emphasized that these Deputy Registrars were to register anyone who sought to be registered.
 - A That's right. That's correct.
- Q. Now, did you take, make any effort to determine by checking the affidavits whether they were doing this?
 - A I'm sorry?
- Q Well, this seemed to be a matter of great concern to you.
 - A. No, I'm not saying --
 - Q If I were concerned, I would --
 - A I wouldn't say it was a matter of great concern to me.



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24 25 (Simultaneous discussion.)

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Just a second. Did you take some of the books, a random sample --

- A As I did.
- Q -- as they came in and flipped through them --
- A. That's what I did.
- Q -- and see if they were all Democrats --
- A They were not. There were a lot of "decline to state," Peace & Freedom Party.
 - Q But you made no systematic efforts --
- A. We made no systematic efforts to determine, to require Deputy Registrars to register one party or another.
- Q Now, did you do any registration out in the Barbagelata strongholds?
 - A. Where might that be? We had registration all over.
 - Q In the Sunset, or --
 - A Yes, we did it in the Sunset.
- Q. Can you give me an estimate of how many people you registered out in the Sunset?
- A. I can tell you, as I believe the press release states, the last person that we registered -- maybe it does not -- the last person that we registered was, I remember very distinctly, because I was -- KPO Radio was broadcasting the final night for registration at the Coalition headquarters, and we interviewed the last person that we registered, and we later



CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Supervisor, may I ask a 9 10 question. 11 It has been stated. Mr. Welch, that the effort was 12 to register as many people as possible. That's correct. 13 But the concentration was in the areas where there 14 15 was low registration. Statistically, that's been stated here 16 by at least one person that was involved with the drive --17 I don't --18 -- which was reasonably with the effect --19 -- I don't know who stated that, but I would assume 20 that people would go where they could get registrations. 21 Right. And, especially if you were being paid, you 22 would go where you could gather signatures at a more rapid 23 rate. 24 A. Um-hum.

What about over in the Feinstein area?

She lives in Pacific Heights.

Where might that be, Supervisor, the Haight-Ashbury,

Yes. We registered people in Pacific Heights,

Supervisor. I think your staff has been provided with a map

found out that, 38 or 39th Avenue.

of our registration positions.

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the . . .

Q.

That has been stated by someone here officially in the



files. So, I would assume that's how the drive went. It went into areas of low registration, which is the intent of the law. But the point that I am getting to, when you pay, you sort of magnify the possibility of people registering in one part of the City or --

A Well, let me give you an example. One of the more active members of the Coalition was Nob Hill Neighbors, which is Nob Hill. They conducted a door-to-door registration drive, and at the same time passed out literature explaining what Nob Hill Neighbors was about, and announcing their meetings. The same with a coalition of groups called the Neighborhood Environmental Caucus.

Q But in your overall group -- I know what you are saying, in other parts of the City -- but in your overall group, you are saying --

- A Was city-wide.
- Q You didn't have a plan to go in certain sections of the City --
 - A. We most certainly did not. Until the very end of the campaign, what was it, Mike, two weeks of the campaign. In fact -
 - Q Well, you say you didn't, so there is no problem there.
 - A Well, I want to be perfectly clear.
- 24 Q I see.

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A In fact, a quick survey was --



6 I am just surprised. The all the area of the straight. 7 THE WITNESS: Well. I was directing this to Supervisor 8 Barbagelata. Since we are so concerned about party affiliation, 9 I thought I would communicate in that vein. 10 We did endeavor in the last two weeks of the 11 campaign to make a very real effort in low registration areas. 12 CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: But see, all I was trying to 13 make a part of the record was, I believe Ms. Bierman, who's 14 part of the organization, left for the files a map showing 15 where the drive was concentrated. 16 THE WITNESS: I believe that map was prepared by 17 your staff, based upon an affidavit that was taken during the 18 period when you were contemplating a suit. 19 CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Did we not submit a map to 20 the files? 21 MR. MOMBOISSE: We have a map, but it is not here 22 today.

said something that you are not clear on?

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA:

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: I am surprised in that coming

THE WITNESS: I don't understand. Supervisor. Have I

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Well -- (unintelligible) --

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from you.

MR. MOMBOISSE: It was identified last time.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Was it identified to be

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reasonably accurate by anyone?

MR. MOMBOISSE: It has already been identified as accurate by Sue.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Okay. And Mr. Agar Jaicks, who was here at one time, made that statement that, naturally, the drive ended up in areas of --

THE WITNESS: With low registration.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: With low registration. And that's where most of the registrations came from.

THE WITNESS: I have no way of knowing where most of the registrations came from.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Okay. Thank you very much. SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Just one moment, now.

Q Did you get all of your books in to the Registrar?

A According to the conversation I had with Mr. Todd on the 25th, the constituent entities of the Coalition, by the present date, did not have some 50 books, 50-plus books turned in. I then asked him if he had done a survey of the voter stubs, the yellow stubs which I understand this Committee is very interested with, and that is the significance that you attach to non-returned books, that people could be able to take the stubs and vote -- and I asked him if he found any example, if he found in his researches any example of a book checked out to the Coalition -- since you know that they have sequential numbers on the stubs -- being voted,

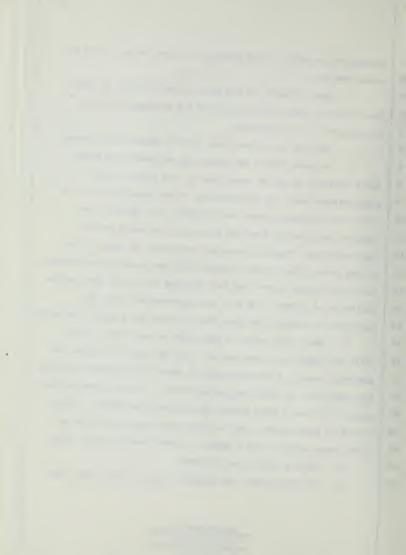


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 someone voting with a stub from one of those books -- and his answer was no.

They do seem, to the best of our ability, to have been actually lost, and it's 50-odd out of some 3000 that were issued to the Coalition.

- Q But has any effort been made to locate those books?
- A A great effort has been made to locate the books, and I believe, as Mason testified, at the actual end of registration there was considerably -- not considerably -- I think over a hundred books not returned. We searched our records, bird-dogged down the books and got about half of them returned. The rest were not returned. We made a list of the books, their serial numbers and the names of the persons that our records showed had been checked out, gave them to the Registrar of Voters, and it's my understanding that the Registrar of Voters then gave that list to the District Attorney.
- Q Well, Mr. Welch, I just want to say this -- and I think Mr. Quinn will bear me out: For at least 15 years, and probably longer, I have been one of those who have been bugging the Registrar to relax the registration. I can't remember the number of times I have called the Registration Office. This goes back many years. And the Registrar then was active in voter registration, and a number of other people along there.
 - A That's one of the problems.
 - Q In those days, the Registrar ran a tight ship, and



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24 25 there was always a fight to get those, to get them to let those books out.

I did it in the interest of increasing the number of voter registrations, but, you know, these last results seem to me it was a repudiation of my whole position.

A I'm sorry that you feel that way, Supervisor, because the best we can come up with in talking with Mr. Todd and talking with the Examiner reporters that have written the story, the Coalition — there is a great difference between not filling out a registration book in the same way, and voter fraud. This is a Select Committee on Voter Fraud, to my knowledge. You have not questioned Mr. Tartarian; you have not questioned Mr. Goldberg; you have not questioned people who are being charged with voter fraud. You have questioned people, and especially the Coalition, who registered people in good faith.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Mr. --

THE WITNESS: And not one example -- if I can, please --

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Mr. Welch, look -THE WITNESS: And not one example --

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: We are not going to use this for a platform.

THE WITNESS: I do not wish to use this as a platform.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: You do not know what we have



done here.

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THE WITNESS: I wish to respond to Supervisor François.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: We have submitted a 40-page report on the activity in the Registrar's Office. It has not been publicized. It shows all the things that went on. We are not going into that at this stage. We will get to that later.

THE WITNESS: Fine. But --

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: And we are not going into out-of-city voters.

(Simultaneous discussion.)

THE WITNESS: -- purged from registrants.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Well, that's not exactly true.

THE WITNESS: All right.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: So, we are not into that aspect today, and this is not going to be used for a publicity forum.

THE WITNESS: A publicity forum? I have --

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: You definitely had a statement here today to gain that goal.

THE WITNESS: Oh, now, Supervisor --

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: We are trying to resolve problems, and this whole thing started because of a new method used in voter registration.

THE WITNESS: It was not new, Supervisor, and you



know it. The whole thing started because the Board of Supervisors refused to act responsibly in a situation in which there were tremendous numbers of people who were not registered to vote; and an incredibly overburdened Registrar of Voters that couldn't register the numbers of people.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: Well, Mr. Welch, are you referring that the Supervisors didn't act responsibly because they refused to issue the \$25,000?

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: No, they did vote. The Board voted to appropriate that money. Supervisor.

(Simultaneous discussion.)

THE WITNESS: And four members refused to override the veto --

(Simultaneous discussion.)

SUPERVISOR NELDER: But, you don't mean to infer that that's acting irresponsibly?

THE WITNESS: Well --

SUPERVISOR NELDER: I'm telling you. You have told us a lot; let me tell you, when I refused to go along with that, it was simply because you refused to distribute that money and allocate it city-wide. That's why you didn't get my vote.

THE WITNESS: That is not true.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: Now, wait a minute. Don't you remember my telling you that --

(Simultaneous discussion.)

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used.

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24 25 THE WITNESS: Right. The document is here.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: That's right, and I told you you

THE WITNESS: And we said, "of course."

can have the \$25,000, if you can go city-wide.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: No, you did not say, "of course."

THE WITNESS: Oh, Supervisor, we most certainly did.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: Do you remember --

THE WITNESS: The question was how to guarantee.

You wanted to guarantee that we could go city-wide, and the thing resulted in terms of the resolution being amended to state city-wide.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: Do you remember what I said?

THE WITNESS: You wanted Mental Health districts

SUPERVISOR NELDER: Well, I started out with nine Police districts, which you turned down.

THE WITNESS: We didn't turn down the Police districts.

You had testimony from Public Service employees, saying that
they weren't allowed to do that.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: I said we will take the nine Police districts. We will take the \$25,000, allocate an equal amount to those nine Police districts, and register everyone. Everyone, that's what I said.

(Simultaneous discussion.)

THE WITNESS: I think --



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SUPERVISOR NELDER: And you folks got real angry with me because that's how I wanted to do it. That's why you didn't get my vote.

THE WITNESS: On April 25th, Mr. Lequennec submitted a proposal, a request for \$25,000. We supported that request. On Page 20 and 21, you will see how that is to be used. It is to be used by the Registrar of Voters. It is not to be used by the Coalition. It is to be used for temporary salaries of the Registrar of Voters' Office. It says, specifically -- and we supported this. This was our hope, of being passed -- that the Registrar of Voters would be in total control of a registration program. That would include \$2200 --CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Hold it.

THE WITNESS: -- to payments to Deputies for registration.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Hold it. The Reporter is informing me that the machine is out of paper.

(Addressing Reporter): Is that what you are telling

me?

yes.

THE REPORTER: Yes. I am just about out of paper,

MR. MOMBOISSE: If I may, at this time . . .

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: The machine is out of paper.

(Simultaneous discussion.)

(Short recess.)



please.

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24 25 SUPERVISOR NELDER: Well, let me just complete what I had said at that time. I said, to use the nine Police districts, because those districts are broken down --

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Wait a minute.

(Addressing the Reporter): Are you ready?

THE REPORTER: Yes, I am.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Okay. We're on the record,

SUPERVISOR NELDER: Everybody in San Francisco lives in a Police district, no matter if it's Hunter's Point, if it's Southeast Station, if it's 24th and Taraval, if it's Taraval Station -- everybody's covered. So, it would have been an ideal situation to go out and register all the people throughout San Francisco.

To this minute, I don't know why you didn't subscribe to that, to this minute. But I just don't want you now to walk out of here indicating that somebody acted irresponsibly, myself included. But, I want you to know where I stand.

But I'll tell you what I am interested in, is in the money. Somebody, you say Senator Moscone, contributed \$5000 to the Coalition.

THE WITNESS: That's what I was told.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: Now, who contributed the most?

THE WITNESS: I would hope that you would look at the filing of the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee.



I have no idea who contributed money to the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee --SUPERVISOR NELDER: Well, that's --THE WITNESS: -- except 4 or \$5000 that I was told Senator Moscone --SUPERVISOR NELDER: Who would have that information? THE WITNESS: I believe the County Clerk would have that information, since they were required to file a statement. MR. MOMBOISSE: Supervisor, the Treasurer for the Coalition was here last time, and has offered to testify. MR. MASON (from the floor): He's not talking about the Coalition. THE WITNESS: I am not talking about the Coalition. The Supervisor is talking about --MR. MOMBOISSE: We didn't make --THE WITNESS: -- the San Francisco Voter Registration Committee. MR. MOMBOISSE: Could we have the Treasurer at the next meeting on the 20th? MR. MASON (from the floor): You would have to talk to her about it. THE CLERK: Would you give me her address?

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SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: But, Mr. Welch is talking about a

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Is that --

(Simultaneous discussion.)



THE WITNESS: Well, replying to Supervisor Nelder's 2 question. 3 SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: And that's the Committee for Voter Registration. 5 THE WITNESS: No. no. no. San Francisco Voter 6 Registration Committee. 7 SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: San Francisco Voter Registrations 8 Committee. 9 10 THE WITNESS: Right. SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Mr. Ouinn. do vou recall 11 12 whether the report is on file on the San Francisco Voter 13 Registrations Committee? MR. QUINN (from the floor): No. I don't. I retired 14 15 shortly after the December election, and my knowledge is not 16 complete on that subject. SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Well, I think we ought to find 17 18 out. That would give him the information. CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Would you like us to get the 19

different organization.

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doesn't know.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Well, we can look up the record.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: No. as long as Mr. Welch says he

Is that the wish of the Committee?

Treasurer to come to the next meeting?



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24 25 SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Yes.

THE WITNESS: Can I make a final statement, even if it might be interpreted as making a statement, which it would be? Could I make a final statement?

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Certainly.

THE WITNESS: I do not understand the policy of -
I do not understand the situation that has developed in which
a Coalition of community organizations registered over 40,000
people in as effective a way as has been done recently, but who
do so only after their request, supported by a majority of the
Board of Supervisors for, first, Federal funds, and supported,
I might add, by the Registrar of Voters, himself, for a publicly
financed voter registration program which would do away, totally,
with the partisan nature that is so abhorrent, evidently, to
the members of this Committee.

The Coalition to Register 100,000 Voters, in this room, argued that same point, that it is a curious situation, indeed, in which, in the name of clean Government, all contributions to political campaigns are to be recorded, but that the most crucial aspect of the electoral, political system, the registration of voters, is left out of public view.

It was the Coalition who raised that point; it was the Coalition who tried to get the Supervisors in the City to support publicly-financed voter registration, run, controlled and directed by the Registrar of Voters. And it is a sad



situation that the past Mayor vetoed the measure, and a sadder commentary that four Supervisors on the Board of Supervisors didn't override the veto, because, if that veto was overridden, the concerns that you have expressed today about the partisan nature of the voter registration process in 1975 -- a concern that I do not share -- would have been totally avoided because the Registrar of Voters would have run the registration program, and there would have been no need to go through the extreme efforts that the Coalition had to go through, to run such a program, extreme hardships of trying to run an office on nickels and dimes.

That's my statement.

 SUPERVISOR NELDER: Mr. Welch, again I'm not going to let that kind of a statement go unanswered, and I mean this most respectfully. It's because you folks did not indicate to me, and probably to the other three, that you wanted to go city-wide; and that's the only condition upon which I would subscribe to give you twenty-five cents, let alone \$25,000. If you had said to me that, "We are going out through the entire City; we are going to the Richmond on Monday, to the Taraval on Tuesday; to the Bayview on Wednesday," you would have got my vote; but you didn't indicate that to me. And when you offered that proposition that would have guaranteed to me that this effort would have been city-wide, you would have got my vote.

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So, that statement sounds magnanimous, but you're never going to get me to see it.

THE WITNESS: I refer you to the first document, which is the first --

SUPERVISOR NELDER: I don't care about the document.

THE WITNESS: Well, it called for city-wide voter registration.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: I am telling you what I said that day, the same as I am saying, sitting here today. Sue Hestor was here, you were here, Mr. Jaicks was here --

THE WITNESS: I know what you said.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: The whole room was filled, and that's what I said. And I don't know why you take issue with it.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: May I have this comment.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Are you through with the witness, Mr. Supervisor?

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: That statement is well put, but you know what the realities are. The realities are that the very composition of the groups that are advocating voter registration and, in fact, the manner in which you conducted it, and the fact that there were two members of the Board who were candidates for Mayor . . .

THE WITNESS: That, I think, is the key factor.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: There was a distrust of the



manner in which the drive would be conducted, no matter whose money was used, and that was the whole, that's the reason why you have just aggravated it by the manner in which you conducted it. You took money, Democratic money, to really run your drive. The heart of it was the money you paid to people to go out and get the registrations. Who's going to trust you in the future? You have admitted that you took a back door; you went around the law.

THE WITNESS: Around the law?!

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: And that this whole campaign -THE WITNESS: I have not admitted --

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: This whole campaign has been backed by the Democratic Party.

THE WITNESS: That is totally untrue!

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: You admitted that.

THE WITNESS: Financed by the Democratic Party?! I have not admitted anything of the sort, Supervisor. You said, yourself, at the first hearing --

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: You said that --

THE WITNESS: That paying for registration is a long political tradition in this town, and you, yourself, said that you, yourself, participated in such campaigns, worked as birddogs in such campaigns. I don't understand what you're saying now.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: This was not public money.

THE WITNESS: Our request was turned down. It was



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24 25 for public money. This was for --

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: This was not public money. I think the Democrats have every right to use their own money, and to go out and register people for their own benefit. But you came before this Board and represented that this was to be a nonpartisan effort, and you are still making that representation. But, as a matter of fact, the money you used to pay the people for the registration was money that was intended for partisan purpose, and you said that it wasn't given to you because your organization was stressing the fact that you were nonpartisan.

THE WITNESS: That we were not registering only Democrat voters.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: And the people that wanted to give money to a partisan cause, so they wouldn't give it to you.

THE WITNESS: That's right.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: They gave it to a partisan organization. Then you took it, in turn, and --

THE WITNESS: And registered voters, the Republicans,
Peace & Freedom, "decline to states," and Democrats.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Thank you.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Welch.

Okay, that terminates the public testimony.

MRS. ALEXANDER (from the floor): Mr. Chairman, may I



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24 25 say something?

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Yes, Ma'am.

MRS. ALEXANDER: This is in reference to a remark from Supervisor Francois earlier, if there were any Republicans in the Coalition.

I just want to state that I personally contacted
the Republican Headquarters on two different occasions during
the period that the League was in the Coalition, in an effort
to urge them to join the Coalition; and they turned us down.
They said that they were going to conduct their own registration
drive.

But the Coalition, at that time, did make the effort to include the Republicans, by all means.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: I would like to just add a couple of comments here.

I think this Committee should act today on something that we are kind of forgetting, and I think it's Section 201 of the Election Code, gives the elected body of the community the right to assign to the Registrar the use of public facilities and City personnel to conduct registration drives. And I think that, if we do that, that would mandate pretty much -- the Board of Education would do the same thing with respect to the schools -- and that we do get going right now on a legitimate drive conducted by City employees during working hours.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: City-wide.



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CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: City-wide.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Well, that would, I take it, would be a recommendation to the full Board.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: That we introduce a resolution
Monday out of this Committee asking the Registrar of Voters,

first empowering the -- I don't know if you should call it

"empowering" -- actually what would the proper word be?

Could I have that Section 201 of the Election Code, Mr. Momboisse?

MR. MOMBOISSE: We don't have it.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Well, there's a Provision in there that says the elected body has the power to give to the Registrar, in turn, who can demand that all public facilities and employees of the City and County of San Francisco participate in registering voters, and I think that should be an action.

I will so move that at this point.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: If that's in the form of a Motion, I would second it.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Madam Clerk, would you prepare
a Resolution to the full Board for Monday, speaking to that.
I will give you the language later.

THE CLERK: Okay.

(Sotto voce discussion between the Chairman and the Clerk.)



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SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that
the registration allow discussion, and the Registrar to select
certain locations and activities, and not require him to enlist
all City employees. Obviously, there are some that are more -CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: At the Registrar's discretion.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Firehouse. Firehouses and

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: There is only one exception in the Code. You cannot require firehouses. That's the only exception.

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Well, we have public libraries and health centers.

MR. QUINN (from the floor): For the record, I would like to remind the Committee that we did use the libraries. We utilized those, and the libraries were very cooperative.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: This meeting will be recessed until July 20th; I believe that's Tuesday.

THE CLERK: Yes. At what time?

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: At 9:00 o'clock, and that we ask Susan Bierman; and ask again Mr. Brown for the fourth time; Mr. Crowley for the fourth time. And was there anyone else?

MR. MOMBOISSE: The others have been notified.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: And the others have been notified.

MR. MOMBOISSE: Yes.



SUPERVISOR NELDER: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mason has his hand up.

MR. MASON: (From the Floor): I would just suggest, on your suggestion -- which I think is very fine -- that also you appropriate some funds to somehow publicize that, or make arrangements with the press, that, if you are going to have this, it's not enough to have it, but have it well-known.

THE CLERK: It is advertised; the press is here.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: For the record, Mr. Crowley
and Mr. Brown have been asked to come on their own on three
occasions. Mr. Brown came this morning and said he couldn't
testify without Counsel; is that correct?

MR. MOMBOISSE: That's correct.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: And Mr. Crowley asked that he be Subpoenaed; is that correct?

THE CLERK: He said that he wanted, he would prefer to be Subpoenaed.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: And the next meeting date,

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Would be July 20th.

SUPERVISOR NELDER: At what time?

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: At 9:00 o'clock.

(Whereupon, the hearing was adjourned until Tuesday, July 20th, at the hour of 9:00 o'clock A.M.)



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APPENDIX:

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Now, who was it that it was convenient for, or we have scheduled . . . Mr. Mason?

MR. MOMBOISSE: I think Mr. Mason is here, and Mr. Welch has asked to be heard, too.

[REMARKS MADE OFF THE RECORD (see Bage 4)]

SUPERVISOR FRANCOIS: Mr. Chairman, may I ask that, because of the seriousness of the matter, and because of the fact that these proceedings may somehow find their way into a public proceeding, that we somehow stay on the record. This going off the record could cause some problems.

SUPERVISOR: I can see that some attorneys would be free to use that for the advantage of their clients. We wouldn't know what happened if we went off the record. For safety's sake, I would like to stay on the record. We may never have to transcribe any of these proceedings. Just in the event that all the parties needed it, I think maybe we better stay on the

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: Okay. We're back on the record.

CHAIRMAN BARBAGELATA: I was trying to save some money.



I. DAVID G. WORTS , duly authorized shorthand reporter, United States District Court for the Northern District of California, do hereby certify:

That the foregoing transcript, page 1 through 115 , inclusive, constitutes a true, full and correct transcript of my shorthand notes taken as such reporter of the proceedings herein and reduced to typewriting under my supervision and control to the best of my ability.

